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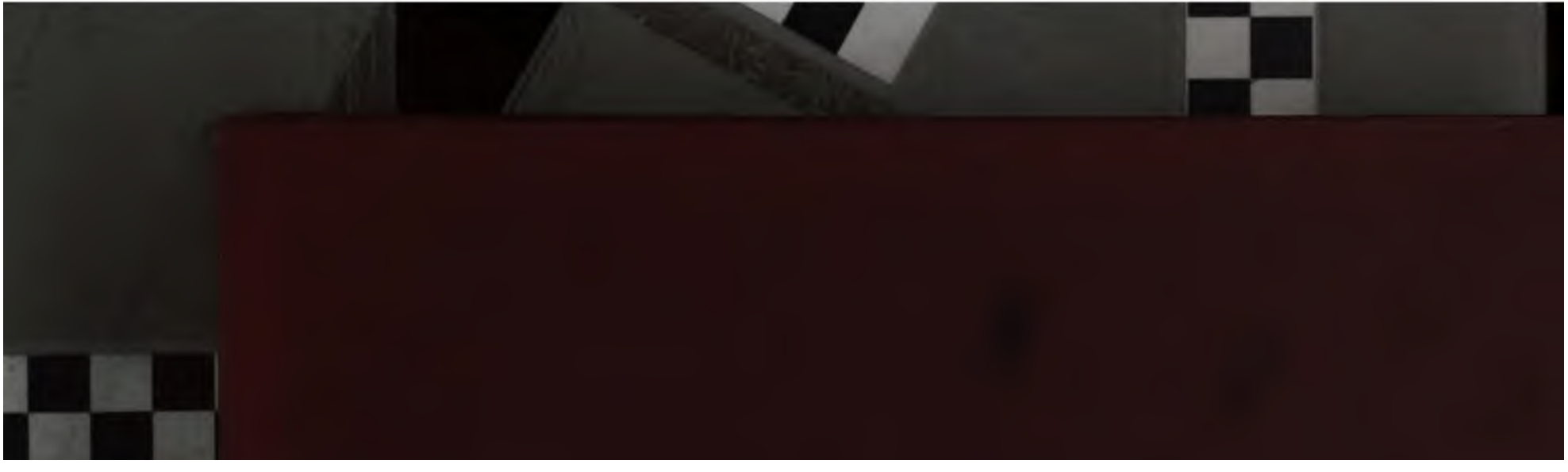
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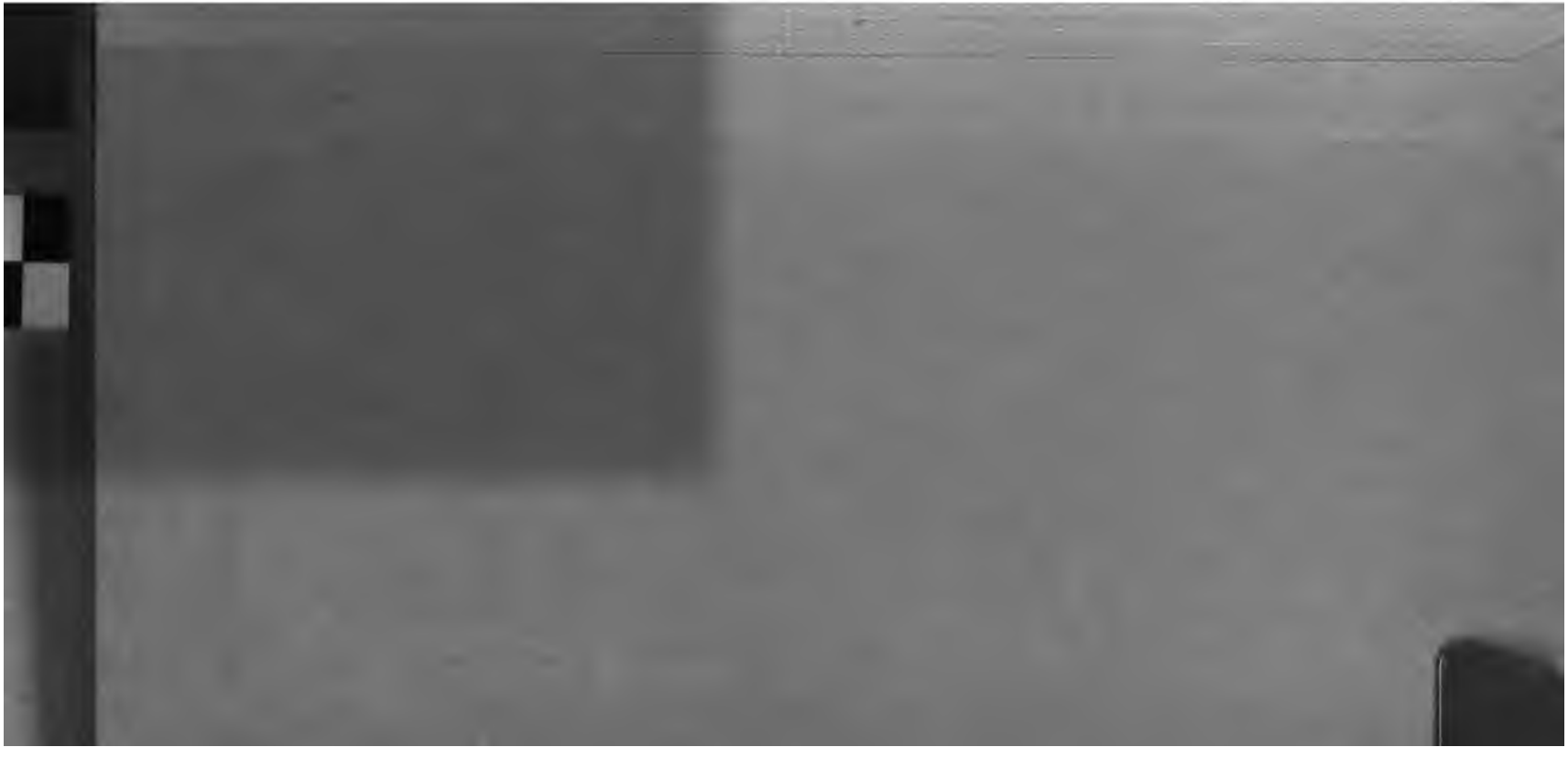
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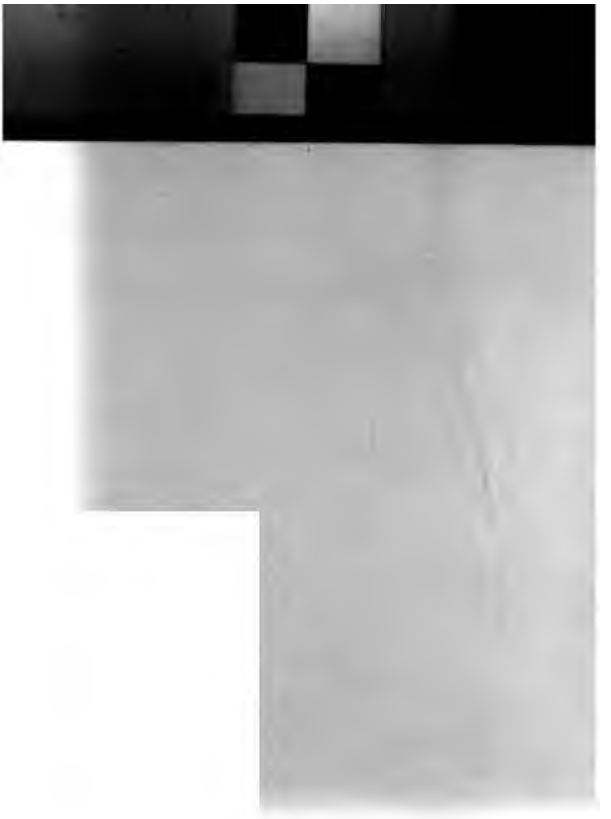
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HISTORY

OF

CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND SECTS

FROM THE

Earliest Ages of Christianity.

John Burton /

By the Rev. J. B. MARSDEN, M.A.

INCUMBENT OF ST. PETER'S, BIRMINGHAM,
AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF THE EARLY AND LATER PURITANS,"
ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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THE following pages owe their existence, and the work itself something of its character, to the suggestions of Mr. Bentley. A compendious volume on the HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND SECTS, written fairly, and, as far as possible, in an impartial spirit, seems to be much wanted. The value of such a work will be at once acknowledged by those who have sought for information on matters of ecclesiastical history, where alone they have hitherto been met with, in the countless volumes of writers, intricate and antiquated, or deeply prejudiced, or imperfectly informed. An ecclesiastical history worthy of the name, and suited to the wants of the age, it is no presumption to say, has not yet been written; and such are the labours and the difficulties of the enterprise, that it is not, I fear, likely to be undertaken by competent hands. Meantime the following outlines are presented to the student in this important field. The younger clergy will find in them some assistance and information which, if I may judge by my own experience, is not easily to be met with, and yet is wanted daily. As a book of reference, too, the volume, when complete, will, I hope, be found worthy of a place in the library of the general reader.

Of the execution I will say nothing more than that I have endeavoured to place myself in the situation of a candid member of the church or sect whose story was before me, and to avoid

distortion and false colouring. I have drawn my facts from the authors of each party, and given their own version, unless it be when opponents have denied their accuracy. Where the matter is controverted, the statements on both sides are, in general, placed before the rea is left to draw his own conclusion.

If, in the following sh ber of Christian sects should appear less than they h esented—for this I offer no apology. On referring , which will be printed at the end, the reader will no sect or body entitled to a place in Church Hist overlooked; and it has unfortunately been too muc ecclesiastical writers to enumerate sects which either never had a distinct existence of their own, or were merely private quarrels, or eddies in the current of unfixed opinion, which disappeared as soon as they existed. A very false impression has been thus conveyed, and a great injustice done to the Christian faith: the primitive church, for instance, is made to appear a congeries of discordant opinions, whose very names and titles are almost innumerable. Yet, in fact, there were but two great parties—the orthodox on the one hand, and the heretical Christians on the other; and these latter, amidst their infinite varieties, are all to be reduced to two—the Gnostics, who corrupted the gospel by an admixture of Greek philosophy, or Persian magianism, or both; and the Arians, who lost themselves in speculations upon the Divine nature, and especially the two natures of Christ. All the controversies of the Reformation hinge again upon the one question of sacramental grace. And in our own times, apart from individual quarrels, eccentricities, and errors, there are but three important differences in matters of doctrine through the whole of Christendom, namely, the sacramental system of the Greek and Roman Churches, the evangelical doctrine of Protestants, and the Rationalist or Nealogian



Creed. Into one of these all our controversies resolve themselves. So, too, questions of Church government range themselves under three great *types*—absolutism, mixed government, and pure democracy. Were these premises borne in mind, the study of Church History would be less perplexing to the student; and the real unity of the Church of Christ would frequently appear beneath external—and perhaps needless and unjustifiable—differences of form and name. At least it is a foolish thing to multiply and exaggerate the differences—after all, no doubt, far too many—which unhappily disturb the great family of Jesus Christ!

J. B. M.

November, 1854.



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HISTORY

OF

CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND SECTS.

ABYSSINIA, CHURCH OF.—Some uncertainty rests upon the exact period when Abyssinia was converted to the Christian faith. It is said by the best writers to have received the Gospel about the middle of the fourth century, when Athanasius was patriarch of Alexandria. Frumentius, a Christian merchant trading in Ethiopia and on the Red Sea, was well received by the king of Abyssinia. Anxious for their conversion, he proceeded after a time to Alexandria, and having been ordained by Athanasius bishop of Ethiopia, returned immediately in a new character to the scene of his former labours. Great numbers of the Abyssinians were baptized, a regular clergy ordained, and churches built; and it is probable that about this time Christianity was generally diffused throughout the Abyssinian empire. From the first, the Abyssinians received their patriarch, whom they call Abuna or Abouna, a word equivalent to father, from Alexandria. Since the Coptic, or Egyptian, Church embraced from the earliest times the Eutychian or Monophysite doctrines, these, in consequence, have always been held by the Abyssinians, who are to be numbered among the Monophysite Churches. (See ARMENIAN CHURCH.) Continuing to receive their Abunas from Egypt, they became disciples to the Alexandrian faith.

For a period of a thousand years the Abyssinian Church was forgotten, or unknown, to European Christendom. The Saracens

obtained the ascendency in Egypt, and the terror of their name was sufficient to shut out the distant regions of Ethiopia and Abyssinia from all communication with the Western Churches. It was towards the close of the fifteenth century that some adventurers, sent out by John II., king of Portugal, penetrated into the kingdom of Congo, and heard for the first time of the Christians of Abyssinia. The king overjoyed on the discovery, resolved to send into A der to ascertain, if possible, the real state of the ordingly, Pedro Cavilham entered Abyssinia in th and transmitted to Portugal a statement of all he l heard. Portugal, at this time in the zenith of as intensely moved by the strongest passions to v are exposed—the love of conquest, and a profou n for the national religion. The most extravagant dulged of the wealth to be drained from these redis ns, which were supposed to contain more gold than America herself; and the triumph would be great indeed if Abyssinia—that ancient Ethiopia of prophecy and history—could be reduced to the subjection of the see of Rome. A treaty was set on foot between the two countries in 1509. The Abyssinians requested that printers, artificers, and learned men might be sent from Europe, promising in return every assistance they could render to the interests of the Portuguese. In their simplicity they preferred a similar request at Rome. Conscious of their own inferiority, they were anxious to import the arts and civilization of Europe; but the step was fraught with ruin. It was determined, on the part of Portugal and Rome, to effect, by whatever means, the subjugation of Abyssinia; and a mission was established, of which it has been said with truth, "that, for the intrigue with which it was introduced, the artifice and cruelty with which it was carried on, and the miserable and disgraceful termination which it received, it admits of no parallel in the annals of the world." We proceed to give a brief outline of this affecting history.

In 1527 an Abyssinian ambassador, Zaga-Zaba, arrived at Madrid, and, from some reason imperfectly explained, was induced to sign a confession of his faith, agreeing in essentials with that of Rome. For some unknown reason likewise, probably from reluctance to acknowledge the supremacy of the Romish see, he was, however, denied the sacraments, and detained as a hostage

if not as a prisoner. In the mean time Bermudes, a Portuguese in Abyssinia, contrived to ingratiate himself with the young Emperor David and his people. The Mahomedans were now making vigorous war upon him; they invaded and took possession of some parts of his empire. The Abyssinian emperor, distracted and helpless, was induced to send Bermudes to the courts of Rome and Lisbon to implore assistance. Before he set out, however, his influence was such that the Abuna was ordered to consecrate him bishop, and to nominate him his successor in the patriarchate of Ethiopia. He then proceeded at once to Rome, where he was consecrated patriarch of Ethiopia by the pope, and further commended to the king of Portugal. On his arrival at Madrid, one of his first acts was to disgrace Zaga-Zaba, who was loaded with chains and thrown into prison; and thus the first step was taken towards the subjugation of the Abyssinian Church. Succours were at length sent, about 1540; and, after various turns of fortune, the Mahomedans were expelled, and the emperor replaced upon his throne. The Portuguese now began to make large demands in return for the services they had rendered. They required that he should embrace the Roman Catholic faith and cede one-third of his dominions; and a threat was added that, unless he complied, he should lose the service of the Portuguese, and, further, that he himself should be excommunicated. The threat of excommunication had, however, a very different effect from that which Bermudes expected. The emperor at once declared that the patriarch had no authority whatever in his empire, and that the pope himself was a heretic; and, to show his sincerity, he immediately sent to Alexandria for an Abuna, for the Abyssinian Church; and, on hearing that he was on his road, set out to meet and welcome him. He was received with enthusiasm by the people. Bermudes was imprisoned; but it would seem that no great severity was intended, as he soon contrived to escape from Abyssinia, to make way for missionaries of another school.

Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the order of Jesuits, saw in Abyssinia a wide and tempting field, and asked permission at once to rush into it. In 1555 the Jesuits first made their appearance at the court of Abyssinia. Ignatius himself was represented by thirteen missionaries of his society; and at the same time other Jesuits were sent by the king of Portugal. Of these

Rodriguez was the leader. Claudius, at this time king of Abyssinia, was a man of great penetration as well as real piety. He was by no means pleased with the sudden appearance of a foreign priesthood, whose numbers rendered them suspicious, and whose arguments he could readily confute. Rodriguez urged that the pope was the vicar of Christ, and that none could be saved out of the pale [illegible] Church. The emperor replied that these were [illegible] consideration of a council, and by no means to b[illegible] by the private opinion of a priest; and, on that acc[illegible]t not expect that the people of Ethiopia would easil[illegible]he faith of their forefathers. Oviedo, another Jesuit [illegible]een consecrated bishop of Hierapolis by the pop[illegible]hat he might succeed the patriarch, should an o[illegible]ur, next obtained an interview, and presented l[illegible]he pope and the king of Portugal. He plainly [illegible] emperor whether he intended to submit to the pope or not; assuring him, at the same time, that out of his jurisdiction salvation was impossible. The emperor replied mildly, that the Abyssinian Church had, from the beginning, been subject to the patriarch of Alexandria, with whose rule they were well satisfied; and that, as to the errors with which the bishop had charged them, he might inform himself more correctly by reading their Confession of Faith; and he added that the matter should be laid before an ecclesiastical council, and the bishop informed of their decision. Oviedo was dissatisfied, and challenged the learned in Abyssinia to dispute with him in public. The challenge was accepted; and Claudius himself, fearing, perhaps, that his clergy might be foiled by so accomplished a disputant, took a principal part in the discussion; in which, according to the Jesuit historians themselves, he very much foiled the bishop. At length Oviedo, finding all other expedients hopeless, determined upon one which seemed to promise an easy victory. On the 5th of February, 1559, in the church of Decome, he solemnly excommunicated the whole of the Abyssinian Church. Within a few months Claudius fell in battle with a neighbouring state, his army was routed, and the empire seemed on the verge of ruin. He was succeeded by his brother Adam, a fierce and haughty barbarian. He ascribed the misery of his country entirely to the Jesuits, and vowed their extermination. The Portuguese joined with the Mahomedans



of the neighbouring states in waging war against the heretical Abyssinians: and Adam fell, like his brother, in the field. But the mission of the Jesuits failed, and they were formally recalled by a bull, dated from St. Peter's, A.D. 1550. Thus ended the first Abyssinian mission.

After several unsuccessful attempts by Menezes, archbishop of Goa, and others, a second Jesuit mission was at length established in 1603, of which Father Peter was the head. It is impossible to give, in a short space, even a summary of that complication of events which filled the next twenty years of Abyssinian history. During the whole period a succession of intrigues, civil wars, and slaughter, occupies and fatigues the reader. Father Peter sided first with the court, then with the insurgents, then with the court again, as each party gained the ascendency; some of the Jesuits always so contriving matters as to be in the confidence of either party. At length the emperor consigned all offices of trust to those who had embraced the Romish faith. The Abuna remonstrated, and at length excommunicated. The emperor answered by an edict commanding all his subjects forthwith to embrace the Romish faith. Another insurrection followed, supported by the Abuna and led by the emperor's son-in-law. An immense army joined the latter, who marched for the royal camp, determined to establish the ancient faith or perish. Simeon the Abuna gave them his blessing, assuring them that every soldier that fell would receive a martyr's crown; but their leader died beneath a shower of arrows, and his followers, panic-struck, threw down their arms and fled. The Abuna was about a hundred years old; too feeble for flight and overwhelmed with grief, he remained upon the spot. His character secured him from the Abyssinian soldiers, but a Portuguese came up, and regardless of his gray hairs, thrust him through with a spear. For a while the victory of the Jesuits seemed to be complete, and the Courts of Rome and Madrid determined to send a patriarch into Abyssinia. Alphonso Mendez was consecrated patriarch, and James Seco and John da Rocha, bishops of Nice and Hierapolis. On the 21st of June, 1624, the patriarch, with his coadjutor, the bishop of Hierapolis, arrived at Fremona, the bishop of Nice having died on the voyage. After a short time the patriarch and his associates were summoned to Court. On the 11th of December the

Abyssinian Church made her formal submission to the see of Rome. The emperor and the (Roman) patriarch took their seats in the great hall of the palace; and, after a sermon on the text, "Thou art Peter, &c.," a solemn abjuration of the Alexandrian faith was made by the Court; excommunication was then pronounced on the contumacious, all native priests were forbidden to officiate till licensed by the patriarch, the subjects of the emperor were co. embrace the Romish faith, and to denounce all tho l still adhere to the ancient religion. A large estat on the lake of Demba was provided for the new p llege was erected for sixty students, and the work g Abyssinia to the Church of Rome seemed to l d. But appearances were deceitful. The missio tempted to say mass were attacked, and two of tl ad murdered in their beds; and again, a son-in-law mperor, Tecla George, placed himself at the head of an insurrection. To prove his sincerity he put to death his own chaplain who refused to abjure the Roman faith. Chrystos, a bigoted papist, was despatched with an army against him; the rebels were completely routed; George and his sister Adela fled to a cave, where, after three days' concealment, they were discovered, and brought before the emperor. George was condemned to be burnt as a heretic; but recanting, was hanged; and the same sentence was executed on his sister, on the same tree, a few days after. These barbarous proceedings, instead of crushing the native spirit, roused the Abyssinians to vengeance, and deepened their hatred to Rome. Insurrections and executions followed, till at last the emperor himself, perceiving how entirely severity had failed, proposed some measures of toleration. The patriarch was alarmed. "Your highness," said he, "has been misled by wicked counsellors, who, under the pretence of toleration, have in view nothing short of the entire extirpation of the Catholic Church from Abyssinia." The patriarch, however, was obliged to give his consent to the retention by the Abyssinians of such of their ancient customs as did not militate against the Roman faith; but with the condition that this indulgence should not be publicly avowed. About the same time, A.D. 1630, letters were received from the pope in which he encouraged the emperor to persevere in the faith, and announced a jubilee for the Abys-

sinian Church. The latter was received by the Abyssinian people with derision. The authority which the pope claimed of pardoning their sins especially, became the subject of their scorn. Another rebellion, quenched at last by a bloody victory, ensued. The emperor's troops slew eight thousand of his peasantry, who willingly forfeited their lives rather than abandon their religion. But still the stedfast, independent spirit of Abyssinia was not vanquished. The empress herself addressed a passionate remonstrance to her infatuated lord; imploring him, as he feared God and valued his own reputation, to forbear this merciless destruction of his subjects. The Alexandrians remonstrated. "You see, sir, how many dead bodies lie before you. Are they Mahomedans and heathens? No, sir, they are Christians to a man; your own subjects; men endeared to us by the strongest ties of relationship and blood. Sire, the very heathens and Mahomedans blush at our cruelties; and brand us with the name of murderers and apostates. Forbear, we entreat you, to persevere in a contest which must terminate in the overthrow of your religion and yourself." In short, the emperor was subdued by the firmness of his people. On the 20th of June, 1632, the Roman patriarch, accompanied by the Jesuits, waited upon him and obtained an audience. He made a passionate appeal to the feelings of the sovereign; and conjured him in conclusion, either to support the Church or to behead himself and his comrades on the spot. He made answer that he had done everything in his power for the catholic faith, that he had now scarcely left to him either subjects or a kingdom, and that he could do no more. A proclamation was issued permitting the Abyssinians to return to the religion of their fathers. It is impossible to describe the raptures with which it was received everywhere. The old Alexandrian party immediately followed up their triumph; they obtained another proclamation, in which every subject of the empire was commanded to return to the ancient faith. The Jesuit mission was at an end; and with it the hopes and prospects of the Church of Rome. The Roman patriarch abandoned Abyssinia in 1633.

From this period nothing further was known of Abyssinia till the travels of Mr. Bruce about 1763, which served rather to excite than gratify the curiosity of Western Europe. He related (and though questioned at the time the report has been subse-

quently confirmed) that so late as the year 1750 the Society of the Propaganda had sent a fresh mission of three Franciscan friars, who penetrated as far as Gonda, where they rose into great favour with the emperor, the queen-mother, and many of the principal noblemen. "We promised ourselves," says father Remedio, who styles himself vice-prefect of Ethiopia, in a memorial of his mission laid before the pope in 1754,—"we promised ourselves a copious harvest; the emperor having already destined me for his ambassador to the apostolic see, for the advantage of the catholic faith in his kingdom: when lo! the enemy of the human race excited against the king, and against us, a great rebellion among the people, insomuch that the archbishop Gofto, fearing to lose his emoluments, threatened to excommunicate the king and all the people, if he did not immediately expel us out of the kingdom. In a word, during the night, not only the furious populace, but also many monks more outrageous than the populace, cried out to the king, rang the bells, and demanded our expulsion with loud cries and threats of death. The emperor awakened and confounded by such an uproar, on the 2nd of October sent for us to an audience, and communicated to us the painful intelligence that we must depart. We practised every means in our power to regain the favour of the emperor and appease the people, but all being in vain we determined to return." Bruce found the Abyssinian Church in a state of great ignorance, but as he brought home with him a complete copy of the Scriptures in the Ethiopic language, it was reasonably surmised that the means and elements of a reformation lay hid within it. Little more was known till the year 1809, when Mr. Salt explored Abyssinia under the direction of the British government. He described both the nation and its religion as fast verging to ruin. The Galla and Mosleim tribes around, he says, are daily becoming more powerful, and there is reason to fear in a short time the very name of Christ may be lost among them. And to Mr. Salt the honour is due of having been the first to urge the wisdom of sending Protestant missionaries to a nation which had, at so very early a period, received the Christian religion; which cherished and defended it against secret and open enemies, and which still maintains it, not pure indeed, but as the national faith. But it was not till 1827 that any active measures were taken. In that year Dr. Gobat, the present



Anglican bishop of Jerusalem, accompanied by Mr. Isenberg, was deputed by the Church Missionary Society on a mission to Abyssinia. Their labours and those of their successors were continued till 1842, when the mission was finally withdrawn through the adverse influences of the Church of Rome, and the opposition of the Abyssinian priesthood. The present state of the Abyssinian Church, with regard both to doctrine and practice, will be gathered from the following statement, for which we are chiefly indebted to bishop Gobat's journals.

The Christians of Abyssinia are at present divided into three parties, so inimical to each other that they will not partake of the sacrament in common. A single point disunites them, a refinement upon the Monophysite doctrine with regard to the two natures of Jesus Christ. It is difficult to understand, still more to explain, these differences; the discussion of which would belong to a theological treatise. They all agree, as indeed do the whole of the Eastern Churches without exception, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, and not from the Father and the Son. They baptize infants, but not before the boys are forty days old and the girls eighty, and as soon as an infant has been baptized the communion is administered to him. Mr. Salt describes a baptism at which he was present, and the ceremonial appears so singular that we shall copy his own statement. The officiating priest was habited in white flowing robes with a tiara, or silver-mounted cap on his head, and he carried a censer with burning incense in his right hand: a second of equal rank was dressed in similar robes, supporting a large golden cross, while a third held in his hand a small phial containing a quantity of consecrated oil, which is furnished to the Church of Abyssinia by the patriarch of Alexandria. The attendant priests stood round in the form of a semicircle, the boy being placed in the centre, and our party ranged in front. After a few minutes' interval, employed in singing psalms, some of the priests took the boy and washed him all over very carefully in a large basin of water. While this was passing a smaller font, called *me-te-mak* (which is always kept outside of the churches, owing to an unbaptized person not being permitted to enter the Church), was placed in the middle of the area filled with water, which the priest consecrated by prayer, waving the incense repeatedly over it, and dropping into it a portion of the *meiron*, or conse-

crated oil, in the shape of a cross. The boy was then brought back, dripping from head to foot, and again placed naked and upright in the centre; and was required to renounce "the devil and all his works," which was performed by his repeating a given formula four separate times, turning each time towards a different point of the compass. The godfather was then demanded, and on my being presented [illegible] child George, in honour of his present majesty, wh[illegible]uested to say the belief and the Lord's Prayer, and [illegible]h the same promises as those required by our own Ch[illegible] head priest afterwards laid hold of the boy, dippin[illegible]d into the water, and crossed him over the forehead, [illegible]t the same moment "George, I baptize thee; in the [illegible]ather, Son, and Holy Ghost." The whole company th[illegible]n, and joined in reciting the Lord's Prayer.

The Abyssinians also pr[illegible]e an annual ablution, which they term baptism, and which they consider necessary to wash away the defilement of sin. The priests receive the Lord's Supper every day, and always fasting; besides priests and monks, scarcely any but aged persons and children attend the communion. They call the consecration of the element *Mellawat*. At Gondar Bishop Gobat found no person that believed in transubstantiation. In Tigrè there are some who believe in it. The wine is mixed with water. They consider fasting essential to religion; consequently their fasts occupy the greater part of the year, about nine months; but these are seldom all observed except by a few monks. The priests may be married men, but they may not marry after they have received orders. The priesthood is very illiterate, and there is no preaching at all. The Abyssinians prostrate themselves to the saints, and especially to the Virgin; and, of all Christian Churches, are, we believe, the only one that practise circumcision. When questioned on the subject, they answer, that they consider circumcision merely as a custom, and that they abstain from the animals forbidden in the Mosaic law, but only because they have a disgust to them; but Dr. Gobat observed, that when they spoke upon these subjects without noticing the presence of a stranger, they attached a religious importance to circumcision, and that a priest would not fail to impose a fast or penance on a man who had eaten of a wild boar, or a hare, without the pretext of illness. In short, their religion con-



sists chiefly in ceremonial observances; and of the most salutary doctrines of Christianity, such as justification by faith and the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit, they know nothing. The moral state of Abyssinia is but low. The marriage bond is easily dissolved, and the same man frequently marries several women in succession, the neglected wives attaching themselves to other men, and thus immorality is widely spread. They have not much regard for truth, and they steal habitually. Still Christianity is not without its elevating influences. They are not cruel though always at war, and seldom take the life of a prisoner. They are very charitable, and, though easily provoked, as easily reconciled to each other. Their hospitality to strangers is unbounded. They will starve themselves to entertain a stranger; and they have such a sense of honour that a thief by profession would not rob his master. The children of both sexes are remarkable for docility and virtue. Dr. Gobat found them better than other children of all the countries that he had travelled in. Thus Christianity, though in a corrupted form, feebly practised and imperfectly understood, has had sufficient power to raise the Abyssinian character to a height far beyond that to which any of the African nations in later ages has attained.

ALBIGENSES, THE.—These were dissenters from the Church of Rome in the twelfth century, so called from Albi, in Languedoc, where they were condemned by a council in 1176, or because the greater part of Narbonnese-Gaul which they inhabited was called Albigesium. The Roman Catholic writers have handed them down as heretics of the Manichæan school, and many Protestant writers of note have adopted and given wider circulation to the charge. Mr. Elliot, in his recent work, "Horæ Apocalypticæ," has examined the question with great patience and research, and, we think, clearly established the conclusion of their orthodoxy. It was previously known that they descended from the Paulicians, a body of Christians in Thrace and Greece, who retained, with perhaps some errors of comparatively lesser moment, the great truths of the Gospel in the dark ages. Some of these travelled to the west, diffused their principles in Italy, and, crossing the Alps, converted large numbers in Southern France, three hundred years before the Reformation dawned.

These were the Albigenses. Their principles spread with such rapidity, that in Languedoc the Church of Rome was deserted. St. Bernard, who was sent to reclaim, if possible, the lost members, exclaims, "The churches are without people, the people without priests, the priests without reverence; the sacraments are not held sacred, the festivals are not solemnized. By denial of the grace of baptism, [illegible] ecluded from salvation; and men die in their sins, h[illegible] o the terrible tribunal without penitence or comm[illegible] lamentation of the Latin father would give us re[illegible] t that the heresy of which he complains consisted [illegible] the Romish doctrine of the sacraments; this we sh[illegible] ve been the case. Two contemporary writers, Eve[illegible] kbert, the former in a letter addressed to St. Berna[illegible] in a tract addressed to the rector of the cathedral [illegible] ive ample statements of the confessions made by the[illegible] as they esteemed them, when brought before the ecclesiastical judiciaries. As regards the sacraments, "they openly confessed," says Evervinus, "that daily at their tables, when they take their meals, according to the example of Christ and his Apostles, they consecrate their meat and drink into the body and blood of Christ by prayer; that besides baptizm by water, they had been baptized with the Holy Ghost; they charge us (Romanists) that we hold not the truth in the sacraments, but the traditions of men. With regard to orders, their discipline is this: first, by the laying on of hands, some of their hearers are admitted into the number of believers; then, after sufficient trial, they lay their hands on them again for the baptism of the Spirit, and so constitute them elect." The same writer asserts that in their diet they forbid the use of milk, and whatever has possessed animal life, that they despise the baptism of the Church of Rome and condemn marriage. This latter point, a subject of grave accusation against their morals, ought to be explained with reference to the Romish sacrament of marriage; for Evervinus himself observes, "they have among them continent women, as they call them, widows, virgins, their wives also; some of which are amongst the elect, others of the believers." And again, "as regards marriage, they allowed that only between two virgins, grounding their doctrine on such texts as, what God has joined together let not man put asunder; and whosoever marrieth her that is

divorced committeth adultery." He adds "they put no confidence in the intercession of saints; they maintain that fastings and other afflictions undertaken for sins are not necessary to the just or to sinners; for that whenever a sinner repents of his sins they are all forgiven him." This, the reader will observe, is scarcely consistent with what he said before on the subject of their diet; probably it may have been practised by some one subdivision of the party, or else it was a practice unconnected with religion. They denied purgatory, and all other things which have not been established by Christ and his apostles they call superstitious. They deny that the body of Christ is made on the altar, or that the pope was an apostle of Christ. Eckbert, the monk, describes them up to the year 1160 as abounding in the neighbourhood of Cologne. He says they were wont to defend their tenets from Holy Scripture, which they did so speciously that even the more learned of the clergy were very generally unable to reply. About the same time we have some notices of the same class of people under the curious names of Telonarii and Poplicani (probably τελῶναι and publicani, in allusion to "publicans and sinners") in Burgundy. The charges against them, for which they were burnt, were, "the making void of all the sacraments of the Church, the baptism of children, the eucharist, the sign of the life-giving cross, the sprinkling of holy water, the building of churches, payments of tithes and oblations, marriage, monastic institutions, and all the dues of priests and ecclesiastics." Under the name of Cathari, or Boni-homines, they were condemned at the Council of Lombers, A.D. 1165. In answer to the several charges brought against them they replied thus: that for inspired Scripture they received the New Testament; also Moses, the Psalms, and the Prophets, in those points of testimony and those only, which are authenticated by Christ and his apostles (*quæ inducuntur à Jesu et Apostolis.* This seems to have been designed to exclude the Apocrypha, rather than any part of the sacred canon). That, "in regard to the baptism of infants we would say nothing of our own, but only answer out of the epistles and gospels, that the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ was consecrated by every good man whether ecclesiastic or layman, and that they who received it worthily were saved, while they who received unworthily received to themselves damnation." Respecting matrimony they would only

answer in the words of St. Paul; respecting confession, repentance, and whether fasting and alms were necessary after repentance in order to salvation, "that the apostle James had said simply that they should confess one to another, and so be saved; and that they did not wish to be better than the apostles, or, like the bishops, to add anything of their own." They believed oaths unlawful; and, if persons ordained were bad men, they were not bishops or priests, but ravening wolves whom men ought not to obey. Whether the Albigenses of the twelfth century were abominable heretics or real Christians, and premature Protestants, the reader must decide. Except the imputation about marriage, no charge is alleged against their morals. Their constancy in suffering excited the wonder of their opponents. "Tell me, holy father," says Evervinus to St. Bernard, relating the martyrdom of three of these heretics, "how is this? They entered to the stake and bore the torment of the fire, not only with patience, but with joy and gladness. I wish your explanation; how these members of the devil could persist in their heresy with a courage and constancy scarcely to be found in the most religious of the faith of Christ?"

The word Albigenses is frequently used as synonymous with the word Provençean or Languedocian; and thus employed the imputations of heresy and irreligion, cast with so much bitterness on the Albigenses, may not have been ill founded. Sir James Stephen remarks (in his Lectures on the History of France), that since, in the unrestrained license of speculation, which invariably succeeds to a revolt from ancient authority, many rash and dangerous theories have been always hazarded, it is not reasonable to refuse all credit to the statement of the historians hostile to them; that among the Albigenses there were some who gave such scope to their fancy as almost to destroy the whole system of revealed truth. But from the same testimony we may infer, that these were the few exceptions, and that, in general, they anticipated and held the same doctrines which after the lapse of three centuries were promulgated by the reformers of Germany and England. Dr. Ranken, who wrote an able, though now neglected, history of France fifty years since, has also examined the question with great care, and proves, from the admission of contemporary writers of the Church of Rome, that the morals of the Albigenses were pure, and that the charge of



Manichæan doctrine was, with regard at least to those who suffered for their religion, utterly without foundation, (vol. i. p. 205, &c.)

About the year 1200, the Albigenses, including the various sects so called, and a number of individuals properly of no sect, but all alike opposed to the Church of Rome, had become so numerous that they were in possession of Toulouse and eighteen other principal towns in Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné. Raymond VI., earl, or count, of Toulouse, was still an independent sovereign, doing homage neither to Pedro of Arragon, the supreme lord of the southern provinces of France, nor yet to Philippe Auguste, the French sovereign. The Albigenses were his subjects; he embraced their opinions and took them under his protection. Innocent III. then filled the papal throne. He heard with dismay the progress of the new opinions, and resolved to crush them. With this object he first of all launched the sentence of excommunication. The Albigenses were placed under an anathema, which extended to every one who might lodge or shelter them, deal with them in trade, either to sell or buy, or join with them in social or convivial intercourse. The clergy were required to forbid them the sacraments while living, or Christian sepulture when dead. The civil powers were commanded to confiscate their property and raze their houses to the ground. The means did not prove effectual. Raymond still showed favour to his heretical subjects, and the pope, in consequence, next sent two legates, Rainerius and Guido, to inquire into the causes of the failure, and demand the instant punishment of the heretics. But even this step was not successful; and now Innocent despatched his apostolic legate, Peter of Castelneau, to demand that Raymond should extirpate his heretical subjects with fire and sword. Twice Raymond refused, and twice was he excommunicated, and his dominions laid under an interdict. The quarrel assumed an aspect similar to that which raged about the same time between Henry II., of England, and A'Becket. Yielding to the impulse of his wrath, Raymond, in an unhappy moment, exclaimed that he would make Castelneau answer for his insolence with his life. The threat was heard by one of his attendants, who followed the legate to his inn, entered into an angry debate with him there, and at length plunged a dagger into his heart. The pope,



eager to avenge his legate, and to vindicate the rights of the Church, immediately proclaimed Raymond a spiritual outlaw, called upon all the faithful to assist in his destruction, and promised the same indulgences which had ever been granted to the champions of the holy sepulchre, to those who should enter upon the new crusade against Raymond and the Albigenses. All Europe resounded with preparations for the holy war; and, in 1209, five hundred thousand soldiers, each wearing the symbol of the cross, according to the writers of that age, gathered round the infected provinces. They formed three great armies, over each of which presided an archbishop, a bishop or a mitred abbot. The great military captain was Simon de Montfort, lord of a fief, near Paris, and, in right of his mother, an English lady, Earl of Leicester. Raymond quailed before the approaching tempest. He made the most abject submission to the pope, and, in proof of his sincerity placed seven of his strongest fortified places in his hands. But this was not enough. He was compelled to appear naked to his shirt in his cathedral church, with a rope round his neck, each end of which was carried by a bishop, by whom he was then severely scourged in the presence of a vast assembly of his subjects. He then swore, upon the consecrated wafer, to submit to whatever the Church of Rome should command, to take the cross against his own subjects, and assist, to the utmost of his power, in the destruction of the Albigenses.

Roger of Beziers, nephew to Raymond, and the head of one of his seven fiefs or baronies, displayed a braver spirit, and resolved to defend his people against the allied crusaders and the Church itself. But he had miscalculated his power of resistance. His castles were abandoned, burnt, or captured, and at the bidding of the legate Amalric, and amidst the acclamations of the ferocious crusaders, the heretics taken prisoners were cast into the flames. Beziers fell at the first assault; its inhabitants, in number three and twenty thousand, were put to the sword. The knights inquired of the papal legate how they should distinguish the Catholics from the heretics. "Kill them all," said he, "God knoweth them that are his." Seven thousand citizens took refuge in the church of the Magdalen; and as many dead bodies were afterwards counted on the spot. A vast multitude crowded the church of St. Nicaise; it afforded no



sanctuary, not one survived. From Beziers, of which nothing but a burning pile of ruins was left, the crusaders marched to Carcassonne. There Roger commanded in person, and sustained a long siege with valour; at length, trusting to a safe-conduct from the Abbé de Citeaux, the legate, and the military leaders, confirmed by their oaths, he visited their camp, proposing to negotiate. But faith was not kept. The legate had him arrested, and handed over to De Montfort. He soon after died in prison, as all men believed by violence. Carcassonne was presented to De Montfort by the legate and his clergy. Soon after, he received from the hands of Innocent, at the Lateran council, the county of Toulouse, and other lands belonging to Raymond, as a reward for his zeal in behalf of the Church. Raymond himself had fled to Rome to throw himself upon the pope's compassion, and solicit the restoration of his dignities; but he was treated with insolence and once more excommunicated. A change, at length, seemed to dawn upon his distracted fortunes. He raised a few followers and once more took up arms, and his kinsman, Pedro of Arragon, fearing, no doubt, the rapid extension of the papacy on all sides, marched, with a thousand knights to his aid: he was joined by the counts of Foix and of Comminges, and the viscount Bearn, his vassals. But Pedro was killed in battle, on the 12th of September, 1213; Raymond and his allies submitted to the conqueror, and the power of De Montfort was supreme. An insurrection took place, however, in 1218, and he was slain at Toulouse. Raymond died 1222. Within two years, Philippe, king of France, and Innocent III., were also removed from the scene. The Albigenses breathed again, and proclaimed the younger Raymond.

Honorius III. was now pope, and he resolved to follow in the steps of his predecessor, and complete the extermination of heresy. He offered great assistance in money, and the lands he should subdue, to Louis VIII., the young French king, to resume the crusade against the Albigenses. But the war was prosecuted with little success; Raymond VIII. was still in possession of the dominions of his ancestors, and it was necessary to set other machinery, still more formidable, to work.

About the beginning of the century, Innocent had sent an extraordinary commission of ecclesiastics into the disturbed pro-

vinces to stimulate the languid zeal of the resident clergy and to root out the rising heresy. They received their instructions from Rome, and held themselves independent of the bishops or other spiritual authorities. Rainier, a Cistertian monk, and Castelneau, the legate, were first sent: they were joined, in 1206, by the famous Dominic, a Spanish friar, the founder of the order of Dominicans. They obtained the house, or castle, of a noble convert near Narbonne, about A.D. 1210, and here, having full authority from the pope himself to inflict capital punishment upon heretics, they first opened that dreadful tribunal, which immediately obtained, and yet retains, the name of the INQUISITION. On the one hand, they offered to those who would recant the remission of all their sins, full indulgences, and various other privileges; on the other, torture, imprisonment, the axe, the halter, and the stake, to the obstinate in heresy. The terror struck by this new tribunal was great; but this was not the least of its advantages to the papal cause. Similar courts were erected in various places, though the officers sometimes fell the victims of public indignation; and in 1229, by the advice of the cardinal of St. Angelo, the pope's legate, the council of Toulouse established in every considerable city of France a Society of Inquisitors. This institution, however, was superseded by Gregory IX. in 1233, who committed to the Dominicans, now formally established as a religious order, the task of discovering and bringing to judgment the heretics of France. Soon after, the legate appointed Pierre Cellan and Guillaume Arnaud inquisitors at Toulouse, and he then set up a similar court wherever the Dominicans had a monastery, Carcassonne and Toulouse being the two chief tribunals. The numbers of the wretched Albigenses who perished by these means is incalculable, and the torments inflicted are too frightful to be repeated. Multitudes, reclaimed by terror, were reconciled to the Church; thousands perished in the fire. These terrible courts took cognizance not only of heresy, but of the crimes, scarcely less odious, of magic, sorcery, witchcraft, and Judaism. The Inquisition was soon afterwards established in Italy and Spain, and the Emperor of Germany was induced to issue an edict granting the Inquisitors protection, and giving legal sanction to their office.

Thus, afflicted by war, and scourged with the scorpions of the

inquisitors, the Albigenses slowly wasted away. In 1225, Louis (the Saint Louis of France) took the cross and marched into Languedoc, to the avowed extermination of the heretics. He died in a few months, or probably their name would have been blotted out at once; but the war was continued by the regent, his widow, in the name of the young king. In April, 1229, Raymond abdicated his feudal sovereignty, and was brought to Paris, and scourged by the priest in the church of Nôtre Dame. "The Church of the Albigenses," says Sir James Stephen, "had been drowned in blood. Those supposed heretics had been swept from the soil of France. The estimates transmitted to us of the numbers of the invaders, and of the slain, are such as almost surpass belief. Languedoc had been invaded during a long succession of years by armies more numerous than had ever been brought together in European warfare since the fall of the Roman Empire. We know that these hosts were composed of men inflamed by bigotry and unrestrained by discipline, that they provided for all their wants by the sword. More than three-fourths of the landed proprietors had been despoiled of their fiefs and castles. In hundreds of villages every inhabitant had been massacred. There was scarcely a family of which some member had not fallen beneath the sword of De Montfort's soldiers, or been outraged by their brutality. Since the sack of Rome by the Vandals, the European world had never mourned over a national disaster so wide in its extent, or so fearful in its character!"

AMERICA, EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF.—This Church, although in the first instance an offshoot of the Church of England, and still retaining an affectionate intercourse with it, has certain peculiar features of its own, and must be considered as a distinct and independent communion. Episcopacy in the United States dates from the first charter of an English sovereign to her earliest settlers. In the year 1606, James I. chartered the infant colony of Virginia, and drew up, it is said with his own hands, a code of laws for their government. Religion was especially enjoined to be established according to the doctrines and rites of the Church of England; and no emigrant might withdraw his allegiance from king James, or dissent from the national faith.

Kindness to the savages was also enjoined, with the use of all proper means for their conversion. The settlers were of the rank of English gentlemen; and they long retained its two characteristics of loyalty to the Throne and warm attachment to the Church. During the Commonwealth their numbers were increased by a vast body of emigrant Cavaliers; and so recently as the beginning of the last century, Spotswood, the governor, wrote home (in 1711), "This government is in perfect peace and tranquillity, under a due obedience to the royal authority and a gentlemanly conformity to the Church of England." The generosity of the Virginian settlers is worthy of commendation. The Puritans, in 1620, established themselves to the north of Virginia, at Boston and Rhode Island; and they treated Churchmen with great severity; actually expelling two brothers, the Browns, for using the Book of Common Prayer, and sending them back to England. This, however, did not prevent the royalists of Virginia from cultivating a friendly intercourse with the Puritans. "I find," says Mr. Bancroft, in his history of America, "no traces of persecutions in the earliest history of Virginia." In 1642, just when the civil war broke out at home, the Virginian colonists, conscious of their importance to the mother-country, asserted their dignity; their colonial legislature declared itself entitled to all the rights and privileges of an English parliament, and at once proceeded to act upon the principle, and to provide a constitution for the Church. In March, 1643, it was especially ordered that no minister should preach or teach, publicly or privately, except in conformity to the Church of England; and Nonconformists were banished from the colony. But this appears to have been done with reference to their political rather than to their religious principles. The Revolution in England had given political importance to religious sects; to tolerate puritanism was to nourish a republican party; and this act of intolerance was carried out with comparatively little bitterness. The act of the Virginia Assembly of 1642, impressed some features which the American Episcopal Church retains to this day. It gave the right of presentation to the parish. The licence of the bishop of London was necessary, but the parishioners could always find means to evade his authority; sometimes by refusing to elect, at others by receiving a minister who might happen to be agreeable to them and dis-

tasteful to the bishop, but not presenting. Thus, in the year 1703, it was the general custom to hire the minister from year to year. The dissatisfied clergy and their friends obtained a legal opinion from England that the minister is an incumbent for life, and cannot be displaced. But the vestry maintained their power over the minister by preventing his induction; so that he obtained no freehold, and could be dismissed at pleasure. The character of the clergy was not always such as to insure respect. They were, from necessity, missionaries, ordained at home; and, there being no bishop in America, there was, of course, no discipline. Thus they stood in disadvantageous contrast with a native Puritan clergy, surrounding them on all sides, and working under no such disadvantages. The parishes, moreover, were of such extent that the incumbent sometimes lived fifty miles from his church; and as the clergy were chiefly supported by a tax, the Assembly, from sordid motives, refused to multiply the parishes. Thus, even before the conclusion of the seventeenth century, the members of the Church of England in the colonies were greatly outnumbered by those of other persuasions.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was established in London at the beginning of the last century, and it immediately became the channel through which the ministrations of the Episcopal Church were supplied to the American colonies down to the time of their separation from the mother-country. The colony of Georgia was founded by governor Oglethorpe, in 1732. He was a member of the House of Commons, disciplined alike in the schools of learning and action, a pupil of the university of Oxford, an hereditary loyalist, an earnest Christian. Anxious for the spiritual interest of his colony, he came over to England, and, in 1735, induced those two eminent men, Charles and John Wesley, to return with him. As the founder of the society which bears his name, the former was soon to produce a spiritual revolution in his native country, and to leave the impression of his power visible to succeeding generations. But in Georgia their mission failed; they had no share in moulding the institutions, either civil or political, of a country in which their peculiar talents might have been expected to find ample scope, and at the end of two years they returned home again. A favourable biographer thus candidly

states the causes which rendered them unfit for missionary work amongst infant colonists: "They had," he says, "at this time, high notions of clerical authority, and their pastoral faithfulness was probably rigid and repulsive. They stood firmly on little things as well as great; and held the reins of ecclesiastical discipline with a tightness unsuited to an infant colony especially, and which tended to [illegible]nce." Episcopacy continued to struggle against [illegible]ties till the war of independence began. W[illegible] and resident episcopate, it was considered a n[illegible] foreign Church; and long before the war began, [illegible]onnection with the mother-country was viewed [illegible] The New England states, Maine, New Hampsl[illegible] Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, were [illegible] Puritans whose posterity still regarded the Church [illegible] with dislike and suspicion. Still, if not flourishin[illegible] was at least in a thriving state. When the war began the number of clergy in Virginia was about a hundred; in Maryland and the southern provinces it probably exceeded fifty; and in the other colonies there were seventy or eighty more. It was, however, in the large towns, and upon the sea-coast, that it had laboured most effectually, and this, to a great extent, is still the case. With the declaration of independence its ruin seemed inevitable, though Washington himself was an Episcopalian. The succours of the Propagation Society were, of course, withdrawn; the lands which it possessed in Vermont were confiscated. The state of Virginia resumed the glebes, the churches were deserted, many of the clergy fled or were deprived of their maintenance, no centre of unity remained, and no ecclesiastical government existed.

But it survived the storm. The war was no sooner at an end than the clergy of Connecticut chose one of themselves, the Rev. Samuel Seabury, to the episcopate, and he proceeded to England for consecration. Not meeting with success at Lambeth, he proceeded to Scotland, and was consecrated by the bishops of the Episcopal Church in that kingdom. In 1785 he returned to America and assumed episcopal functions; but this step was not altogether satisfactory to the American Church, which regarded itself as a branch of the Church of England. In the years 1783-84 and 85, conventions were held by members of the Church in Connecticut, Massachusetts, in New York, and finally

in Philadelphia. The last of these was a general convention, at which the Episcopalians of seven States were represented. A constitution for the future government of the Church was now framed; the Prayer-Book was altered in several points, and a document was drawn up, by unanimous consent, addressed to the English archbishops and bishops, requesting them to consecrate to the episcopate certain clergymen who should be sent over for that purpose. The address was forwarded to the Archbishop of Canterbury, through the American minister. An answer was returned, signed by the two archbishops and eighteen bishops, expressing their readiness to comply so soon as satisfaction should be given them with respect to the alteration in the Book of Common Prayer. In a letter to the Committee of the General Convention the prelates wrote soon afterwards, expressing their dissatisfaction with the proposed Prayer-Book in several particulars; they were especially displeased with the omission of the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, and of the descent into hell in the Apostles' Creed. A special meeting of the General Convention was summoned, and these points were again discussed. The Nicene Creed was restored. The Athanasian Creed was negatived; but the concessions were regarded as satisfactory at home, and on the 4th February, 1787, under the authority of an Act of Parliament obtained for the purpose, three American bishops were consecrated at Lambeth by Dr. Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury. These were, Dr. Provost for New York, Dr. White for Pennsylvania, and Dr. Griffith for Virginia. The latter soon afterwards resigned, and in 1790 Dr. Madison was consecrated in his place. The ordination of Dr. Seabury in Scotland was allowed by the Convention, and thus the American Episcopal Church became independent, and has ever since had the entire control of her own affairs. We shall offer a summary of the constitution, offices, and present condition of this now flourishing branch of the Catholic Church.

A parish is not a geographical boundary, as in England. It is defined, as "consisting of all, in any given place, who embrace the episcopal form of worship and government, and who associate themselves in conformity with certain fixed rules." The parish, thus organized, applies to the diocesan convention for admission as a constituent part of the diocese: this is never refused when the articles of association are in proper form. In most of the

states a parish possesses the further advantage of incorporation, which is granted by the state legislature. The corporate body thus formed can sue and be sued in courts of law, hold property, and make all necessary contracts. It frequently happens that a parish is formed before a church is erected, the parishioners assembling for worship in some commodious room, or even in a private house. Churchwardens are elected on Easter Monday, for the ensuing year, which consists of the pew-holders or members and generally, at the same time, a delegate is chc t the parish in the diocesan convention. The rigl ion always belongs to the parish, unless they thi levolve it on their wardens, and although they oft gyman on the recommendation of the bishop, thi ans deemed necessary. In general, the minister , and the expenses of the church defrayed, by m ual assessment on the pews, or a voluntary subscription. A few parishes possess endowments; that of Trinity Church, New York, possesses landed property in the city, originally of little value, but now estimated at several million dollars sterling.

A diocese consists of all episcopalians in a given state, organized on a prescribed plan as an ecclesiastical commonwealth. When thus organized, it applies to the General Convention for union with that body, and if the organization be canonical it is received and acknowledged as a diocese. There are now thirty-three dioceses in the United States. New York is divided into two bishoprics; Virginia has two bishops; there is also a bishop at Amoy, in China, and a missionary bishop in Africa. The American Church recognizes no spiritual distinctions but those of bishop, priest, and deacon. A diocese generally contains from one to two hundred parishes; but in the western states, which are thinly peopled, there are sometimes not more than ten or twenty. The management of ecclesiastical affairs is placed in the hands of three separate jurisdictions, each rising in authority above the last. First of all, there is the standing committee, one of which, by a general canon, is required for every diocese. The number of its members may vary; in Pennsylvania it consisted lately of five clergymen and as many laymen; in Ohio three of each order, and elsewhere, even two were deemed sufficient. The standing committee serves for one year, and

meets at pleasure; its relation to the diocese is similar to that of the vestry to the parish. It is also a council of advice to the bishop; and when the episcopate is vacant it issues dimissory letters, institutes ecclesiastical trials, and performs other functions of the episcopal office which are not purely spiritual. No bishop can be consecrated without the consent of the majority of the standing Committees of all the dioceses of the United States, except he has been elected during the year preceding the sessions of the general convocation, when the consent of the supreme court is sufficient. No candidate for orders can present himself to the bishop without his testimonials are signed by a majority of the members of the diocesan standing committee duly convened. The standing committee is itself appointed by the diocesan convention.

The diocesan convention is wholly legislative in its character. It consists of the bishop, all the clergy of the diocese canonically resident, and of the lay delegates appointed by the several parishes. In some dioceses each parish sends three delegates, in others only one. It meets once a year, or in case of special emergency, more frequently. It consists of two houses, the clergy and laity sometimes voting apart, but this is not usual. though it may at any time be demanded at the call of a few members. In some few dioceses the bishop has a veto, but this is generally unpopular and seldom exercised. The duties of the diocesan convention are extensive. In general, the bishop is elected on the nomination of the majority of the clergy therein assembled, the nomination being confirmed by a majority of the lay representatives. Besides the election of a bishop, the diocesan convention is competent to the performance of the following acts, and others of a similar nature. During the vacancy of the episcopate it may invite the bishop of a neighbouring diocese to officiate within its limits. It makes canons to determine the mode by which its clergy may be tried when charged with improper conduct or heretical doctrine. It regulates parish elections, declares the duties of its wardens and vestries, and determines the ratio of its lay representation. It appoints the method by which its parishes shall be organized, and the conditions upon which they may be admitted as constituent parts of the diocese. It declares the necessary qualifications and conduct of lay readers in such of its congregations as are destitute of the

services of a clergyman. It provides for the appointment and support of missionaries within the diocese. It takes measures for the promotion of Sunday-schools and of theological education. It elects trustees of any institution under its control. It chooses delegates to the General Convention; and, finally, it appoints a standing Committee.

Lastly the general c[illegible] supreme ecclesiastical court, is constituted thus. T[illegible]e consists of all the bishops, of whom the eldest in [illegible]ration is the president. The lower house is compos[illegible]ical and lay delegates from each diocese; these a[illegible]ed four of each order. In certain cases, a major[illegible] suffrages but of dioceses represented, and the con[illegible]th orders voting apart in that majority, is necessary i[illegible]ouse. The general convention assembles once in[illegible] one of the churches of the great towns. The pr[illegible] may, at any time, call it together, at the request of a majority of his episcopal brethren. It is almost unnecessary to say that it is totally unconnected with the civil government. Its powers relate entirely to the control of the church it represents, and it exacts nothing beyond the voluntary submission of its own subjects. But it possesses all those powers which cannot be exercised conveniently in the several dioceses. Thus it enacts canons, provides for uniformity through the different dioceses, publishes authorized editions of the Bible and Prayer-book, making alterations in the latter when deemed necessary; and allowing each bishop to compose forms of prayer for his diocese on extraordinary occasions. It defines the duties both of the bishops and the clergy, the offences for which they may be tried, and the nature and extent of the penalty. It lays down the method of proceeding against the laity, and the grounds on which they may be excluded from the holy communion. In short, everything that concerns the well-being of the church at home, may be ultimately brought beneath its cognizance and decided by its vote. It regulates the intercourse of the clergy with other churches when abroad, and lastly, it directs the operations of the church in regard to heathen lands. It appoints missionary bishops for the states at home not yet organized, and sends them forth to heathen countries. At its triennial meeting it appoints a board of missions consisting of thirty members, together with the bishops, under whose control

all foreign missionaries are placed, and who occupy the place of our own missionary societies at home and fulfil similar duties.

Such is the constitution of the American Episcopal Church. In doctrine it professes an exact agreement with the Church of England. The thirty-nine articles, with a few verbal alterations required by political circumstances, and in the eighth article by the exclusion of the Athanasian Creed, are adopted as the standards of faith. Various alterations have been made from time to time in the book of common prayer, but in the preface we have the following declaration:—"This church is far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline or worship, or further than local circumstances require." The most important changes and additions are these: a selection of upwards of two hundred hymns is added to the metrical psalms; the commination service is omitted, and of course the forms of prayer for the fifth of November, and other English political festivals and fasts. The Gloria Patri is not repeated after each psalm. The minister is allowed sometimes to select appropriate psalms and lessons, and the lessons themselves are sometimes altered and re-arranged. Our religious fast-days are retained, and the first Thursday in November is set apart, with an appropriate service, as a day of thanksgiving for the harvest. In the Apostles' Creed, upon the descent into hell are added these explanatory words, "or he went into the place of departed spirits." These are the most important changes: there are many others which are chiefly verbal. We must not forget to state that the prayer to be used in times of war and tumult, omits the questionable expressions, "abate their pride, assuage their malice, and confound their devices." In the communion service, the prayer of consecration is taken from the first English book of Common Prayer put forth in the reign of Edward VI. (see CHURCH OF ENGLAND), and the eucharist is made an oblation to God: "We now offer unto thee the memorial thy Son hath commanded us to make." In the occasional offices some important changes are introduced. In that for the visitation of the sick the absolution is omitted. In that for baptism, the sign of the cross may be omitted, when parents or sponsors (parents are allowed to stand for sponsors) request it. In the burial service, the expression which affirms that the dead is interred, "in sure and certain hope," is altered

into, " looking for the general resurrection at the last day, and the life of the world to come." And so in the collect of thanksgiving, " we give thee hearty thanks for the good example of all those thy servants who having finished their course in faith do now rest from their labours," instead of our own words, " for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world."

The American Episc s, like our own, divided into the two parties of higl rch. Sometimes these parties are styled in Am al and non-evangelical, but not with accuracy, fo f the high churchmen are entirely evangelical in e and preaching. The extreme Puseyite, or T rines also find their advocates both among the e clergy, and are said at this time to be making con ress, though rather amongst the ministers of religio ty.

The condition of the Episcopal Church in America is certainly at this time full of hope and promise. At the beginning of the present century, the number of her ministers did not exceed two hundred, and she had scarcely begun to recover from her ancient apathy, nor from the shock of the war of independence. It was probably at the lowest point of depression thirty years afterwards. According to the journal of the General Convention, held in New York in October 1832, the clergy numbered five hundred and eighty-three, and the bishops had increased to fifteen. Twelve years later, in 1844, there were twelve hundred and twenty-two clergymen, and two and twenty bishops; the communicants were more than a hundred thousand, and it was calculated, as the nearest approximation, that about one million and a half of the people of the United States belonged to this communion. Between 1817 and 1838, says bishop Wilberforce of Oxford, in his history of the American Church, while the population of the Union little more than doubled, it quadrupled itself. Should its increase continue at this rate, it would in fifty years outnumber the mother-church, and, before the end of a century, would embrace a majority of all the people of the West. She sees among her clergy, not a few men of high distinction for talents, learning, and eloquence; for piety and zeal. She has founded colleges and theological institutions. The episcopal college of New York is well endowed, and generally contains from seventy to eighty students in divinity.

Through the zeal of bishop Chase, Kenyon College was founded, about twenty years since, in the diocese of Ohio. There is a theological school at Alexandria, with which an episcopal education society is connected, which professes to assist young men of parts and piety in preparing for the ministry. A large proportion of the clergy have been assisted by its funds. Still it is somewhat remarkable, that the episcopal clergy of America have made few contributions of importance to theological, or even general literature; occupied in extending its own boundaries, and fulfilling its missionary character, rather than in the labours of patient research and deep reflection, it is content to receive its literature from Europe. At Philadelphia and elsewhere, religious newspapers, written with considerable spirit, have been set on foot. The "Christian Observer" and other English periodicals are reprinted at New York, and much read by the clergy. But except the sermons of bishop Mahon, which were republished in this country, and much admired, rather however for the grace and force of the style than for deep thought, we do not recollect anything that claims the rank of authorship. By an Act passed in 1842 the American clergy may now officiate, for a period not exceeding two Sundays in succession, in our English churches. We have thus obtained the opportunity of listening to some of their ablest preachers, of whom it must certainly be said, that they will bear comparison with the most eloquent and gifted of our own clergy. Their style is different; more elaborate and rhetorical, and wanting in those home thrusts, and strong touches of nature in which our greatest preachers have always delighted, and which so enliven their discourses whether read or heard.

Amidst so much that is cheering, Bishop Wilberforce notes two dark spots which cloud the horizon, and threaten to blight the glowing prospects of the Episcopal Church in America. The first is, that few of the poor belong to it: it is the religion of the affluent and respectable. The churches are remarkable for the comfort of their cushioned pews and carpeted floors; they rather resemble splendid drawing-rooms than houses of prayer. In these the poor man could hardly find himself at home. Free churches have been built in New York for the express and exclusive accommodation of the poor; but these have entirely failed, as, indeed, they have generally done at home; and, in the great towns at least, the Episcopal Church belongs exclu-

sively to the higher classes. Again, the Episcopalians have, to a great extent, though not without many exceptions, espoused the cause of the white man against the negro. No canon explains it to be contrary to the discipline of their Church to hold property in man, and treat him as a chattel. The coloured race must worship apart: they must not enter the white man's church; or, if they do, they must [illegible] into a separate corner. In some cases their dust [illegible]ulder in the same cemetery. The Theological Sem[illegible] York, though "especially designed to secure a [illegible]ing for all presbyters," has decided, in opposition [illegible] protest of bishop Doane, to exclude young men of [illegible] clergy of the few black congregations are exclud[illegible] Convention; and a special canon of the diocese [illegible]ia forbids the representation of the African Church [illegible]phia, and excludes the rector from a seat.

From the seventh census of the United States we learn that, in the year 1850, the total number of Episcopalian Churches in America was 1,420; the aggregate accommodation, 625,000; and the total value of church property 11,261,970 dollars.

ANGLO-CATHOLICS.—No theological controversy of modern times will bear comparison, for the learning and ability of the disputants engaged, the importance of the issues, the extent to which the conflict spreads, or the deep anxiety it has created in all observers, with that which has been carried on during the last twenty years within the Church of England. We propose to lay before the reader an impartial account, I. Of the origin; II. Of the subject matter; and, III. Of the history, of this great movement.

I. In the year 1833 the Church of England was supposed by many to be in a state of peril. Ten bishoprics were suppressed in the Irish Church with the consent of both Houses of Parliament. In England the introduction of the great measure for the reform of the House of Commons was attended by a disturbed state of public feeling, which was sometimes directed in open insults against the bishops and the clergy. Dissenters combined, with a heartiness hitherto unknown, to resist the payment of church rates, with the avowed intention, in many places, of

destroying the National Church. There was a general feeling amongst churchmen of alarm or irritation; the latter aggravated by an indiscreet threat used by the premier, Lord Grey, in Parliament, to the effect that the bishops would do well "to set their house in order." At this juncture a few clergymen assembled in conference at the house of the Rev. Hugh James Rose, at Hadleigh, Suffolk. Amongst the names invited were those of Messieurs Froud, Keble, Newman, and the Hon. Arthur Percival. Others were consulted; and the result of the conference was a resolution (which, however, was not carried out) to form an association on behalf of what they considered to be Church principles—principles which, they maintained, were violated by the suppression of the Irish bishoprics, and forgotten or decried by most professed churchmen. It was at this conference that a tract was prepared, entitled "The Churchman's Manual." It was the first "*tract*" put forth to meet the exigencies of "the times," prepared with great care, and submitted for correction to several eminent divines of the party. Its publication proclaimed the formation of a new and powerful phalanx ("conspirators" they called themselves, half in jest); and hence their popular designation of *Tractarians*. They are sometimes called *Puseyites*, after Dr. Pusey, professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, one of the leaders. At first, when the movement became known, it created but little interest. The excitement of politics was great; the subject was new except to a few divines; and for a year or two the tracts, which were now issued without interruption once or twice a month, were read chiefly by the clergy. They were published at Oxford; and the reputation and local influence of the writers procured for them by degrees a wider circulation. The views put forth startled many who still believed, notwithstanding some points of difference, that upon the whole the tracts were doing good service to the Church. The bench of bishops was disposed to regard them with no disfavour. There had been a period of great laxity, and the reaction was in favour of high-church principles, in which the safety of the Church was supposed to lie. Several laymen of rank and talent lent their influence to the cause. "The Oxford Tracts" became the subject of general conversation in all religious and all literary circles. Their principles were everywhere discussed; and it was evident, even to the unob-

servant, that the tractators were exercising, for good or evil, an extraordinary influence upon society at large. The writers themselves were astonished at their own success. They were surprised to find, says Dr. Pusey, in "A Letter to the Bishop of Oxford," that tracts, written for a temporary purpose by persons unknown, or but little known, beyond their own university, should, within a few years, have been made into a sort of touchstone of opinion almost throughout the land; and, stranger yet, that publications devoted to politics should, at a time of great political expectation, break off their speculations to talk of deep and sacred subjects of theology, the gifts of God in baptism, or the succession of bishops. This was written in 1839; and it does not present an exaggerated statement as to the ferment the tracts had caused. We did but light a beacon-fire, they said, on the summit of a lonely hill; and now we are amazed to find the firmament on every side red with the light of some responsive flame.

II. The intention of the Anglo-Catholics, as avowed by themselves, was to resettle the Church of England in the affections of the nation, and to recover for her her lapsed rights; and this was to be done by reviving true Catholic, in opposition to low Church or sectarian principles. As the tracts ran on, a multitude of opinions were broached and speculations hazarded in them by various writers; and it becomes a question how far the whole party is responsible for each and all of the propositions contained in no less than ninety several pamphlets. But the difficulty has happily been removed to a great extent. Mr. Percival has drawn, with equal clearness and candour, the distinction between those propositions which he regarded as essential, and others which, being doubtful or of less importance, were held by some of his friends, but rejected by himself or others. The point is of so much importance that we shall quote his words from a "collection of papers connected with the theological movement of 1833," and published in 1843. "I say distinctly that I am not prepared to give my own approval, I am not prepared to recite the approval of others, for all the propositions which have been put forth in 'The Tracts for the Times' but only for a portion of them. In that series of publications two classes of doctrines or opinions have been apparently confounded together, which ought to have been kept entirely distinct. In the first class, which may

in the highest sense be termed Catholic, I include the doctrines of apostolic succession, as set forth in our ordinal; baptismal regeneration, as set forth in our catechism and our baptismal service; the eucharistic sacrifice, and the real communion in the body and blood of our Lord, as set forth in our communion office; and the appeal to the Church from the beginning, as the depositary and witness of the truth, as set forth in our canon of 1571." These points Mr. Percival holds to be essential, as "having their warrant in holy writ, and having been taught authoritatively by all branches of the Catholic Church in all ages." The secondary class of doctrines are,—"such as bowing to the east; an intermediate state, or purgatory; the doctrine of reserve; and that of mystical interpretation." This appears to be a fair statement of the whole question. The Anglo-Catholic system necessarily involves, or rather is built upon, the first class of doctrines, including each of its four divisions; and the whole controversy turns, in fact, upon the question whether, as expounded in the tracts, these are the doctrines of the Bible, and of the Church of England. The second class of doctrines are only, in justice, to be charged upon those individuals who hold them. At the same time it may possibly appear, that they are reasonable inferences deducible from the aforesaid premises; and an opponent of the Tractarian system would be justified, if they are held by any considerable number of Anglo-Catholics, in regarding them as, consequentially, if not formally, an integral part of the system itself. It will be necessary to lay before the reader an outline of those four great "Catholic" principles upon which the whole system is erected.

1. *Apostolic succession* (as stated in the first tract, "The Churchman's Manual,") means a commission to discharge the offices of a spiritual priesthood, received at first from Christ, and conveyed through the apostles and those who followed them in the same office, in an unbroken line of succession, from the apostles to the present bishops. This commission has been conveyed by the laying on of the hands of the apostles and their successors; and the successors of the apostles now are said to be the chief pastors in every place, who have received the apostolic commission. All apostolic Churches are episcopal, but all episcopal Churches are not apostolic; since in some cases the chief pastors are called bishops, but have not received the apostolic

commission. It follows from these premises that all Protestant dissenters are excluded from the Church, and that all Presbyterian Churches, though nationally endowed, yet wanting the apostolic succession, are not members of the Church Catholic. In answer to the question, in what respect do all the Protestant dissenters differ from the Church? The tract says, "Each sect has some point of difference peculiar to itself, but they all differ in this, namely that their teachers can produce no commission from Christ to exercise the office of ministers of the gospel: these have departed from the apostles' fellowship. The success of dissenters is no evidence that they enjoy the divine blessing; for the most wicked impostors have sometimes had the greatest number of followers, as in the case of Mahomet; and those who take upon themselves the office of the ministry without warrant from God are guilty of the sin of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, who were swallowed up alive in an earthquake, and of Uzziah, king of Judah, who was struck with leprosy." In tract seven, "The Episcopal Church Apostolical," the same doctrine is maintained in the following words: "The fact of the apostolic succession, that is, that our present bishops are the heirs and representatives of the apostles by the successive transmission of the prerogative of being so, is too notorious to require proof. Every link in the chain is known from St. Peter to our present metropolitan. Can we conceive that this succession has been preserved all over the world, amidst revolutions through many centuries, *for nothing?*" In another passage the writer says, "the Presbyterian ministers have assumed a power which never belonged to them. They have presumed to exercise the power of ordination without having received the commission to do so."

2. *Baptismal regeneration.*—Tract sixty-seven defines regeneration to be "that act whereby God takes us out of our relation to Adam, and makes us actual members of his Son, and so his sons as being members of his most blessed Son, and if sons then heirs of God through Christ. This is our new birth, an actual birth of God, of water and the Spirit, as we were actually born of our natural parents; herein also are we justified, or both accounted and made righteous, since we are made members of him who is alone righteous; freed from past sin whether original or actual, have a new principle of life imparted to us," &c. Again, "Our life in Christ begins when we are by baptism made

members of Christ and children of God; but a commencement of life in Christ after baptism, a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness at any other period than at that one first introduction into God's covenant, is as little consonant with the general representations of Holy Scripture as a commencement of physical life long after our natural birth would be with the order of his providence." All baptized persons are maintained to be thus regenerated. The administration therefore of baptism and the Lord's supper "to infants or dying and apparently insensible persons" is spoken of with respect as a laudable custom, and it is stated (preface to vol. ii.), that it is "the very essence of sectarian doctrine to consider faith, and not the sacraments, as the proper instrument of justification and other gospel gifts."

3. *The Eucharistic Sacrifice.*—The doctrine of the tracts is, that in the Lord's supper there is a real presence of the body and blood of Christ, that it is a sacrifice offered to God, and that it confers grace. One of the first of the tracts speaks of the clergy as "entrusted with the awful privilege of making the body and blood of Christ." The last of them, number ninety, argues "that the Church of England, article twenty-eight, on transubstantiation, contains nothing to interfere with the doctrine of a real super-local presence in the Holy Sacrament;" and, that article thirty-one, on the sacrifice of the mass, "was not written against the creed of the Roman Church, but against actual existing errors in it." "The sacrifice of the mass is not spoken of, but the sacrifice of masses, certain observances for the most part private and solitary, which the writers of the articles knew to have been in force in time past and saw before their eyes." "On the whole, then, it is conceived that the article before us neither speaks against the mass in itself, nor against its being an offering for the quick and the dead for the remission of sin, but against its being viewed on the one hand as independent of, or distinct from, the sacrifice on the cross, which is blasphemy; and on the other, its being directed to the emolument of those to whom it pertains to celebrate it, which is imposture in addition." Dr. Pusey, in a letter to Dr. Jelf, in "vindication" of tract ninety, writes as follows:—"They (the articles) confess fully the reality of Christ's presence in the Sacrament, they only do not define the mode of his presence; they will not so tie down the omnipotence of Almighty God, that the bread and wine should not

also be the body and blood of Christ . . . a real change, as I said, they gladly accept; a true, real, substantial, sacramental presence of our Lord and his flesh, the very flesh which was born of the Virgin Mary, and is now glorified at God's right hand, they reverently confess; they only confess not, that carnal, scholastic theory which [illegible]ain away the mystery, that the elements, although [illegible]d blood of Christ, are also bread and wine. They [illegible]ruth; the mode of its being they leave, like the r[illegible]e incarnation whence it is derived, undefined, bec[illegible]ehensible by man."

4. *The appeal to the [illegible]Tradition.*—Upon this point the Anglo-Catholic doc[illegible]ical with that of the Church of Rome; namely, "t[illegible] two sources of authoritative doctrine and of reve[illegible] co-ordinate authority and equal importance, holy[illegible]d tradition." The latter is expounded after Vicen[illegible]sis (Tract 24, vol. ii.) "to include what has been believed, everywhere, always, and by all the church catholic. This is true and genuine catholicism." Tract ninety, maintains that the sixth and twentieth articles are to be explained thus. "In the sense," it says, "in which it is commonly understood at this day, Scripture it is plain is *not* on catholic principles the rule of faith." And Dr. Pusey, in his letter to Jelf, defends the writer of the tract in these terms: "Indeed, the tract, so far from pressing, as I think it might, that in points of faith or things necessary to salvation, private judgment is excluded, contents itself with saying it is at least an open question; nothing is said, in the article, of the private judgment of the individual being the ultimate standard of interpretation, nor on the other hand does it assert anything as to catholic tradition being the Church's guide, in interpreting Holy Scripture, but only negatively, that 'not a word is said in favour of Scripture having no rule or method to fix interpretation by, or, as it is commonly expressed, being the sole rule of faith.' So that, so far from drawing the article to any extreme view, our friend only shows that it does not contain anything contradicting the authority of the Church and tradition, leaving others free possession of their opinion, provided that they ascribe not to the article uncatholic statements to which it is rather opposed."

These are the fundamental points of the tractarian system. It does not fall at all within our province in these pages either to

defend or refute them. Our business is simply to place the whole controversy briefly before the reader, leaving the decision to his judgment. It will be evident, upon the least reflection, that these four articles could not stand alone; they would, of necessity, involve many doctrinal questions, and affect, at the same time, the practice, especially in matters of form and public worship, of those who held them. The view of the apostolic commission and of the succession, naturally involved what are termed high-church principles—that is, an assertion in all spiritual matters of absolute clerical authority. The view of the Sacraments, as administered only by men episcopally ordained, led immediately to the unchurching of English dissenters and Scotch and foreign presbyterians. There could be no Church without Sacraments and public rites, and none of these without a clergy who derived their powers episcopally from the fountain head. The question of the authority due to tradition, involved that of the reverence due to catholic antiquity; to the opinions of the fathers upon other subjects, and to the practice and customs of the ancient Church. The political questions of the present age were found to be deeply embedded in the controversy; and the ability and fearlessness of the writers served to enhance at once the number and courage of their disciples and the fears of their opponents.

III. The history of the tractarian controversy is that of the Church of England during the last twenty years; nor will our civil polity be understood in future times without a due acquaintance with the effects it wrought, even upon secular men and mere politicians. The Oxford tracts first appeared in 1833; Number ninety, the last of the series, was published in 1841. During this long interval, the Anglo-Catholic party was being consolidated, its views constantly received some new development; for it is probable the leaders themselves were forced onwards in the support of their great principles towards many conclusions, which at first they would have condemned. Certain at least it is, that their opponents, very early in the conflict, indicated some results, as the sure consequence of the positions then held by Anglo-Catholics, which, though violently objected to at the time, were afterwards embraced by not a few of the leaders of the movement. The "Christian Observer," representing the evangelical party, was amongst the first, as it con-

tinued to be throughout the most unyielding, of the opponents of the new Oxford school. "The decrees of the Council of Trent," it wrote in April 1834, "are not more undisguisedly popish than these Oxford tracts;" and, for several years, each successive number contained an article, frequently the production of some able theologian, in proof of the assertion. The "Edinburgh Review" took up the question soon afterwards. An article appeared under the h the Oxford Malignants, in 1836, in which the wr g the fanaticism, which, he says, had been the pec of the Church of England, speaks of it as "directi to the setting up of a ritual, a name, a dress, a cere ical phraseology, the superstition of a priesthood ower, the form of episcopal government without it a system imperfect and paralyzed, not independ reign, afraid to cast off the subjection against whicl etually murmuring,—objects so pitiful that, if gained ever so completely, they would make no man the wiser or the better, they would lead to no good, intellectual, moral, or spiritual." Of this article, but not of the title, which was added by the editor, Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, was the author. These and similar attacks were met by innumerable counter-statements. Scarcely a newspaper or review appeared which did not strive to inflate its pretensions as the friend or as the opponent of the Oxford tracts. Meanwhile they made fresh converts. The younger clergy, of both universities, were strongly prejudiced in favour of a system which promised to give dignity to the priesthood, and to invest religion with magnificence. The old gentry viewed with approbation the return of a system which promised to reinstate them, with the sanctions of the Church, in almost feudal power. The Anglo-catholic party seemed upon the very point of victory, when a series of reverses began. Tract eighty-seven, "On reserve in communicating religious knowledge," maintained the policy, and in some cases the duty, of concealing some of those truths, the atonement for instance, which have been usually considered not only fundamental in themselves, but essential to a useful ministry. "The prevailing notion of bringing forward the atonement, explicitly and prominently on all occasions," says Mr. Williams, the author of the tract in question, "is evidently quite opposed to what we consider the teaching of scripture." "The exclusive and naked

exposure of *so very sacred a truth*, is," he thinks, "unscriptural and dangerous." The same rule is applied to other important doctrines of the Bible. Thoughtful men of all parties were startled. This mode of teaching seemed to imply, at least, a want of candour in the teacher, and to lead at once to the artifice of the Jesuits; one religion for the priests, and another for the people, an esoteric and an exoteric faith. Dr. O'Brien, bishop of Ossory, addressed a charge to his clergy expressly on the subject, strongly condemning the doctrine of reserve, which passed through several editions, and left a deep impression. But the publication of tract *ninety* brought on the crisis.

Of the converts which the tracts had gained, the majority consisted, as in every great movement of the kind, of young and ardent men. Of these not a few had already passed on before their leaders. The doctrines of the tracts appeared to many of them to inculpate the English Church in the guilt of schism. The difference between ourselves and the Church of Rome seemed not to be of such importance as to justify our secession. Some felt that the balance of truth inclined towards Rome and against the Reformation. A general uneasiness was felt throughout the Anglo-Catholic party, and a few actually seceded and joined the Church of Rome. In 1839 Dr. Pusey published a letter to the Bishop of Oxford, on "The Tendency to Romanism," imputed to the doctrine held by himself and his friends. He maintained that Anglo-Catholics held a middle course between ultra-Protestantism, on the one hand, and Romanism on the other; and he argued that each of them had set aside that Catholic antiquity to which Anglo-Catholics deferred, and, deferring to which, they represented the pure Church of Christ. And, inasmuch as he and his friends were frequently charged with a tendency towards Rome, an Appendix was added, containing an array of extracts from the "Tracts for the Times," the "Lyra Apostolica," and other publications; showing "that to oppose ultra-Protestantism is not to favour Popery." Still the secessions went on, and there was a growing reluctance, in the minds of many young men, to take orders in the English Church, and, more particularly, to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles. Tract ninety was intended to remove these difficulties. The writer, Mr. John Henry Newman, was a fellow and tutor of Oriel, and vicar of St. Mary's, the University church of Oxford. Such a position could not fail to

give his views extensive circulation, and to stamp them of great importance. He endeavoured to show that the articles might be subscribed in safety by those who held the doctrines of Catholic antiquity; that is, the doctrines of the Church of Rome, though not of individual members of that Church, or of certain sects and schismatics within her bosom; that it was against these errors, and not against the Church of Rome herself, nor against her legitimate teaching, that the articles were drawn up. It would be difficult to describe the effects produced upon the appearance of this famous tract. With, perhaps, the exception of "Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution," no pamphlet ever created a sensation so wide, so deep, and so enduring. If it satisfied the consciences of some, by showing them how to remain in the Church of England while holding Romish doctrines, it alarmed others with the prospect of introducing principles subversive of Protestantism. The exultation, or the alarm, was great on either side, but the latter soon prevailed. The Bishop of Oxford, it was understood, requested that the issue of the tracts might cease; the Hebdomadal Board, consisting of the heads of houses, to whom the ordinary government of the University of Oxford is committed, formally condemned the tract and denounced the principles of *non-natural* interpretation. Dr. Pusey coming, as he said, to the assistance of a friend suffering under ill-merited censure, attempted to allay the storm. He wrote a "Vindication" of the principles of interpretation of tract ninety:—"In few words, this," he says, "is our position, *that our Articles neither contradict anything Catholic, nor are meant to condemn anything in early Christianity even though not Catholic, but only the latter definite system of the Church of Rome.*" It would be impossible to give the merest outline of the controversy which now sprung up on the question, as it was termed, of non-natural interpretation. When at its height, it was suddenly stilled by an event, to the Anglo-Catholic party the most unlooked for. Mr. Newman avowed that his principles were untenable, resigned his preferments, and went over to the Church of Rome. This occurred in the summer of 1845.

At this time the movement had acquired its greatest force. The whole party had hitherto acted in perfect concert, and with great success. Mr. Newman's secession introduced a new state

of things. Ever since, the Anglo-Catholic party has been divided into two sections; the one verging towards Rome, the other gradually returning to the ground occupied by the High Churchmen of the last century, as represented by Bishops Bull and Andrews, and Nelson, the author of the "Fasts and Festivals," &c. The culminating point was reached in 1845.

Mr. Newman's retirement was the signal for that of many others. Before the close of the year, Dalgairnes, Bowles, Ryder (son of a late bishop of Lichfield), Oakley, Ward, and many others, had joined the Church of Rome. In each case the plea was the same which Mr. Newman had himself advanced; that the Anglo-Catholic system was unsatisfactory, and that the Reformation was, after all, an act of schism. Mr. Oakley, minister of Margaret Street Chapel, and prebend of Lichfield, was suspended in the Court of Arches, after maintaining that "he had a right to hold" (though not to teach) "all Romish doctrine." On becoming a Romanist, he declared that he had "nothing material to retract," and "that he had long been modelling the services of Margaret Chapel, into the utmost possible sympathy with the Roman." Mr. Ward published a book, entitled the "Ideal of a Christian Church," in which he spoke of the Church of England with undisguised contempt. A convocation was assembled at Oxford; Mr. Ward was punished, by degradation from his degree, by the votes of a large majority, and immediately seceded. A violent quarrel had for some time raged upon the question of a stone altar, which, at the instigation of the Camden Society, the wardens had introduced at St. Sepulchre's Church, Cambridge, then undergoing repairs, in opposition to the wish of the incumbent. He appealed to the archdeacon to have it removed; the archdeacon decided in favour of the wardens; it was then removed to the Court of Arches; and finally decided by Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, who reversed the decision of the inferior court, and declared the altar to be illegal. The suit, during its progress, excited the greatest interest; for it was everywhere felt, and confessed, that the real question at issue was the *sacrificial* character of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The church was distracted at the same time, in numberless parishes, with attempts to restore usages which, though in many cases strictly rubrical, or in accordance with the canons, or the Prayer-Book, were nevertheless obsolete;

and, together with these, attempts were often made to introduce other practices unknown in the Church of England since the Reformation, or known only during the primacy of Laud. Some of the clergy preached in surplices; some placed the elements, before consecration, upon a piscina, or side-table of stone; some placed two lighted candles upon the communion-table; some read the offertory after sermon. The bishops, in general, mildly censured these innova[illegible]one or two dioceses they met with encouragement. [illegible] circumstances it was, that the Venerable Dr. Hov[illegible]op of Canterbury, addressed "A letter to the clerg[illegible]f his province," in 1845, the caution, kindness, and pr[illegible]om of which were generally admitted. He said, "[illegible]d most earnestly recommend for the present is, the di[illegible]e of any proceeding, in either direction, of the cont[illegible]stions. In churches where alterations have been [illegible]ith general acquiescence, let things remain as they are; in those which retain the less accurate usage, let no risk of division be incurred by any attempt at change till some final arrangement can be made with the sanction of the proper authorities. In the case of churches where agitation prevails, and nothing has been definitely settled, it is not possible to lay down any general rule which may be applicable to all circumstances." The consequence was, that in many parishes the innovations were laid aside. In several instances, at the west-end of London, large and wealthy congregations were warmly in favour of them: and since the archbishop's pastoral was not authoritative, there they were continued; and these churches have since served as models to various new ones in different parts of England.

The Gorham controversy followed soon afterwards; and, as well upon account of the deep interest it excited at the time, as of the important consequences to which it led, and the principles it established, it deserves a place in the history of the Anglo-Catholics. Mr. Gorham was presented by the lord-chancellor to the living of Bramford-Specke, in the diocese of Exeter, in 1847. Before institution, the bishop insisted that Mr. Gorham should submit to an examination upon the subject of baptism, the nature of which will be understood by the following questions, which, amongst others, were proposed:—

"*Question* 1.—Does our Church hold, and do you hold, that

and the supper of the Lord, are generally necessary
on, in terms as absolute as this proposition?
tion 2.—Does our Church hold, and do you hold, that
xpress words of our Lord, John iii. 5, 'Except a man be
water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the
of God,' we may perceive the great necessity of this
t where it may be had?
tion 3.—Does our Church hold, and do you hold, that
fant baptized by a lawful minister with water, in the
the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is
God in such baptism a member of Christ, a child of
an inheritor of the kingdom of God?
tion 4.—Does our Church hold, and do you hold, that
ldren, by the laver of regeneration in baptism, are
into the number of the children of God and heirs of
ıg life?
tion 5.—Does our Church hold, and do you hold, that
s so baptized are born again of water and of the Holy

primary questions led to an examination, of which
ıam complained, that "it was continued during eight
luding, in the whole, fifty-two hours, besides six days of
oyment at my lodgings at Torquay. In the course of it
dred and forty-nine questions were proposed to me on
e subject of baptismal efficacy; the bishop making a
effort to impress on me his interpretation of the articles
ıularies, while I maintained my ground of a sincere
ion to the articles in their plain sense, as the standard
octrines of the Church, and of an honest assent to the
ies interpreted in conformity to that standard." The
f Exeter, in reply, charged Mr. Gorham with having
ıself the cause of this long and tedious examination, by
veness or obscurity of his answers. The result, however,
the bishop refused to institute Mr. Gorham on the
f unsoundness in doctrine. Mr. Gorham now made his
› the Court of Arches, where the whole question was
before Sir Herbert Jenner Fust; who delivered a long
ured judgment, confirming the decision of the bishop of
and consequently pronouncing Mr. Gorham's doctrinal
untenable in the Church of England. The question

at issue on both sides was allowed to be simply this,—Whether the efficacy of baptism in the case of infants is conditional or unconditional? "I concur," said the judge, "in what the learned counsel stated, who argued for Mr. Gorham: the question at issue between the parties is infant regeneration unconditionally in and by bap[illegible]ration of the highest kind." And he concludes his [illegible]:—The Church has declared that the thing signifi[illegible] the moment, though such a doctrine may appea[illegible]nate to the Roman Catholic doctrine of the *opus* [illegible] There is no *obex* (hindrance) in the way when infan[illegible]d; therefore they receive the benefit, whatever it [illegible] it is spiritual regeneration according to the form[illegible] Church." The decision was expected with the utm[illegible] it involves the question, said the friends of Mr. Go[illegible] there is to be another Saint Bartholomew's day in [illegible]. When it appeared, the triumph of one party and the consternation of the other can scarcely be expressed. But an appeal was immediately lodged, and the question carried for final decision before the Queen in council, or, to speak more exactly, before the judicial committee of the privy-council, to which several of the chief judges, the two archbishops, and a few eminent prelates, were especially summoned by the Crown. The proceedings were taken in public; counsel was heard at length on both sides; and, after considerable delay, and a period of deep suspense, a final decision was given, in February, 1850, reversing that of the inferior court, and, in effect, authorizing the institution of Mr. Gorham. It is to be observed that this decision did not determine the doctrine of the Church of England on the question of baptismal regeneration; neither was it meant to do so; it went no further than to declare that the hypothetical view of the doctrine, or that the child in baptism was held to be regenerate only on the supposition that it was one of the elect, as held by some, or that it was presented in faith, as maintained by others, was not inadmissible. Still, it gave satisfaction to the great body of evangelical and moderate Churchmen. The Anglo-Catholics received it with high displeasure. The leaders of the old Tractarian party protested against it, and resolutions were published, signed by Messrs. Manning, H. Wilberforce, Keble, Dodsworth, Bennet; Doctors Mill and Pusey; Archdeacons R. Wilberforce and

Thorpe; with three barristers-at-law, and Mr. Cavendish, condemning as heretical the latitude which the decision gave. The bishop of Exeter published a solemn protest, addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury. "I have," he says, "not only to protest against the judgment pronounced in the recent case, but also against the regular consequences of that judgment. I have to protest against your grace's doing what you will speedily be called to do, either in person or by some other exercising your authority. I have to protest, and I do hereby solemnly protest, before the Church of England, before the holy catholic Church, before Him who is its Divine Head, against your giving mission to exercise cure of souls within my diocese to a clergyman who proclaims himself to hold the heresies which Mr. Gorham holds. I protest that any one who gives mission to him till he retract, is a favourer and supporter of those heresies. I protest, in conclusion, that I cannot without sin, and by God's grace I will not, hold communion with him, be he who he may, who shall so abuse the high commission which he bears!"

A considerable number of Anglo-Catholics had already joined the Church of Rome; but the decision, in the Gorham case, was the signal for a wide desertion. Mr. Maskell, the bishop of Exeter's chaplain, who had assisted in Mr. Gorham's examination, declared that he was now convinced that the principles of that gentleman and his party were really those of the Reformation and the Church of England; but they were uncatholic, and he sought a refuge in the infallible church. During the years 1850 and 1851, about one hundred clergymen abandoned the Protestant faith and joined the Church of Rome. Amongst these, many were of distinguished talent and high position, including Manning, archdeacon of Chichester, and Henry Wilberforce, vicar of East Farleigh. A large number of laymen, chiefly from the higher ranks of society, at the head of whom Lord Fielding may be named, accompanied or followed them. These secessions had reached their height at the close of 1852, when upwards of two hundred clergyman had retired and at least an equal number of the laity. Since then a few conversions have taken place from time to time, and some are still occurring. But upon the whole, the Romeward movement appears to be almost spent. The Anglo-Catholic party in the Church of England is still, however, large and powerful, and, we believe,

increasing. Its adherents teach what is pre-eminently called the sacramental system, including some points which probably were not contemplated by the authors of the movement in 1833. On seceding from the Church, Mr. Dodsworth, as well as Mr. Maskell, published an account of what had been their custom recently as Anglo-Catholics; and their statement, though of course with an allowa diversities of practice in so large a body, may be cription of the present state of things in the party hey seceded. They adminis-tered the sacrament o couraged auricular confession and gave especial p ion. They taught the pro-pitiatory sacrifice of th ist, as applicatory of the one sacrifice on the cross, a tion of Christ, really present on the altar, under t read and wine; they encou-raged the use of rosar ixes, and special devotions to our Lord, as *e. g.*, to his ds. They had also already endeavoured to restore the conventual, or monastic, life. The first attempt of this kind was made by Mr. Newman, at Littlemore, near Oxford. Archdeacon Wilberforce has lately published a treatise on the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist in which the real presence is maintained in the strongest terms. "What," he asks, "was that body which was offered to the holy apostles in the last supper? Was it not the self-same body which they knew to have walked on the sea, and to have been transfigured on the mountain? Was it not that body which was about to emerge from the unopened tomb, and to enter, the doors being shut, into their assembly? Was it not, in short, the body of God?" &c. And, on the nature of the sacrament, he adds, "That which our Lord did in person, at his last supper, he has done ever since by the medium of his ministers. Through them does he still bestow that gift of his body and his blood which he gave to his twelve apostles. He still speaks the words of institution, and thereby affirms the presence of himself, of his body, soul, and Godhead. Neither is his body any other than that human body, which, by the mystery of the incarnation, he made his own; that body which was once humbled, but is now exalted; the self-same body, which he took of the Virgin, and which suffered on the cross," pp. 82, 95. A large establishment for "The Sisters of Mercy" has now, for some years, existed at Devonport, under the sanction of the bishop of Exeter. It is

er the direction of a lady superior, to whom, on their admis-
, the novices make a solemn vow of obedience. Kneeling,
are then invested with the cross, with these words:—"The
of the cross is a sacramental symbol, in the which lies deep
tery. When thou shalt have learned this mystery, thou
t perceive that of self-surrender, thou shalt have disco-
d wherein lieth the mystery of peace." The "Canonical
rs" are observed, as in the Roman Catholic Church,
, matins, lauds, prime, terse, sext, nones, vespers, and
pline, the services being somewhat modified. Private con-
ion is practised to the visiting clergy; and severe penances
sometimes enforced. The sisters are employed in works of
rity and visiting the poor. A "sister," who complained that
had been treated with great severity, left the institution in
2. The matter was made public in a number of pamphlets,
attack and defence, and from these our statements are
ved. An institution for sisters of mercy has recently been
ned at Clewer, in the diocese of Oxford, but with its rules
are not acquainted. At the period at which we write, the
glo-Catholic system is carried to its full extent in several
rches in the metropolis, at Brighton, and elsewhere. St.
l's, Knightsbridge, has been for some years celebrated for
magnificence with which its public worship is conducted,
, we must add, for the introduction of ceremonies unknown
he Church of England since the days of archbishop Laud.
inst some of these, the churchwardens have protested and
ealed to the bishop of London. His lordship in reply states,
he considers some of the customs objected to, harmless in
mselves; as *e. g.*, the clergy and choristers walking in solemn
cession to the church, and that of bowing towards the altar;
his lordship condemns the observance, which was also made
atter of complaint, of the clergy, each bearing with pomp
ceremony one or more of the vessels used in the offices of
Church. "This," says his lordship, "I regard as a distinct
tation of the practice of the Church of Rome. If the vessels
lements are brought into the church before the celebration of
Holy Communion begins, they should be brought without
procession or ceremony, and before the commencement of
ne service." On the subject of intoning the service, another
d of complaint, the bishop says, "it is well known I do not

approve of this mode of performing divine service in parish churches;" but his lordship doubts whether he has power to forbid it. As to the candlesticks on the communion table, "I had rather not see them in parish churches, but I am not prepared to order their removal when they have been placed there several years. A wooden cross on the communion table being considered objectionab[illegible]ip says, "I certainly wish it to be removed;" but h[illegible]ed that he has authority to direct its removal, w[illegible]nsent of the wardens and parishioners, except by [illegible]ree of the consistorial court: and to the credence tal[illegible]use of flowers in decorating the church or chancel, [illegible]jection. All these, however, are points which contin[illegible] the Church of England.

Since the foregoing [illegible]ritten, another question has been introduced, or [illegible] prominent, in the Anglo-Catholic controversy, namely, the question of the royal supremacy in things ecclesiastical. Ever since the decision of the Privy Council in the Gorham case, the right of the civil power to interfere has been questioned, and it is now at last denied. Mr. Robert Wilberforce has within the last few weeks resigned his archdeaconry, and other preferment in the Church of England, as he declares, upon this question; and has published his reasons at large in "An Inquiry into the Principles of Church Authority; or, Reasons for recalling my Subscription to the Royal Supremacy, 1854." This volume, the author tells us, in its preparation has brought to a head difficulties with which he had been perplexed for four years; and which have led him ultimately to secede from the English Church. For though Mr. Wilberforce's secession to the Church of Rome has not, we believe, been yet announced, the volume before us, maintaining the primacy of the bishop of Rome as St. Peter's successor, is of course a virtual abandonment of the Church of England and of the Reformation. With this point, however, we are not at present concerned, nor have the arguments by which Mr. Wilberforce attempts to support the papal pretensions the claims of novelty to require our notice. The controversy was indeed exhausted, on both sides, by the ponderous learning and argumentation of the divines of the seventeenth century. But in order to make the force of th objection of the supremacy clear, it will be necessary in a fe

to state Mr. Wilberforce's views of the Church itself, and st them with those entertained by our reformers. The h, Mr. Wilberforce and his party maintain, possesses an *ic* life from union with its head. This expression, organic organic body, an organic institution, frequently employed, nded to convey the idea that there is a life in the Church, sic to the life of the members of the Church, or that of Christ in his union with the Godhead. Its members are said to be only the materials which the Church s and combines through "*its own inherent life;*" and the ition is further illustrated thus: "by a wall is meant a arrangement of bricks, which when united are nothing than bricks still; but a tree is not merely a congeries of us particles, but implies the presence of a certain principle which combines them into a collective whole." From premises he advances to a second position, namely, that ystical body of Christ has an organic life like his body l; or rather, he should have said, identical with it; for st," he adds, "was personally incarnate in that body which ain, but by power and presence will *he be incarnate in the h* till the end of the world." From this arises a third sion, namely, that on this depends the whole idea of the ian sacraments, as the media of Church union, and the hich the Church was commissioned to convey. "Holy m was instituted that by one spirit we may all be baptized ne body; and the Holy Eucharist transmits that life had its source with God, and which was imparted to man- hrough the mediator." (Chapter I.) Upon this foundation, ially that of the Church of Rome, Mr. Wilberforce proceeds r the infallibility of Church authority. This indeed would of course. If the Church is really inhabited by the man- f Christ, then "it is plain that her authority in matters of annot be questioned; for the presence which was to be in his body Natural when he was upon earth, is to be since his ascension in that body Mystical, which is his ual medium of approach. For the gifts of grace which eir dwelling in the one are imparted to the other." This ity then must have expression, and the medium through it is expressed is the episcopate; but the episcopate must centre, and an organ; and, that the Church may utter

but one voice, a superior whose decisions shall be final. Such a centre is the see of Rome; and thus we arrive at once at the dogmas of the Church's visible unity, and the infallibility of the papal see. To refer spiritual questions to a lay tribunal, or to give ecclesiastical power to secular princes is, if these theories be correct, not merely to violate the discipline of the Church, but to offer the gr ty to Him whose incarnate presence with it att t wisdom, and supplies its sovereign jurisdiction of our reformers, and we may add of all the rches, on the nature of the Christian Church, d ential points from that of Mr. Wilberforce.

They held, as migl if necessary, by references to Cranmer and his asso as to Whitgift and Hooker in the next generatio hurch was truly the body of Christ, although they rejected the notion of an organic life in the literal sense; and upon this point the whole question hinges. They held that every spiritual member of the Church is a spiritual member of Christ, and that in him Christ by his spirit dwells. They held that Christ, the supreme head of the Church, sanctioned its proceedings and ratified its acts; but so far, and so far only, as they were in accordance with his own will, and of that will the indications were to be sought in Holy Scripture and there alone. But, inasmuch as many visible members of the Church had not Christ's spirit, but that the wheat and the tares grow together as the Lord himself had foretold, therefore the decisions even of the Church collectively were not infallible. An appeal always lay open from the decisions even of general councils to the Bible, the ultimate, and only absolute standard. "General councils," says the twenty-first article, "forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the spirit and word of God may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation, have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scripture." With reference to Church government, they utterly denied the position that spiritual authority in the Church had been handed down exclusively through an episcopate which derived its authority from St. Peter. Hooker, in his Ecclesiastical Polity, contends (and he wrote under the eye of Whitgift, and

Whitgift had been contemporary with the men of the Reformation) that although the Holy Scriptures are a perfect standard of doctrine, they are not in the same high sense a rule of discipline or government, nor is the practice of the apostles an invariable rule or law to the Church in succeeding ages; because they acted according to the circumstances of the Church in its infant and persecuted state; neither are the Scriptures a rule of human actions, so far as that whatsoever we do in matters of religion, without their express warrant, is sin; but many things are left indifferent. The Church is a society like others, invested with power to make what laws she apprehends reasonable, decent, or necessary, for her well-being and government, provided they do not interfere with, or contradict the laws and commandments of Holy Scripture: where the Scripture is silent, human authority may interpose: we must then have recourse to the reason of things, and the rights of society: it follows from hence, that the Church is at liberty to appoint ceremonies, and establish order within the limits above mentioned, and her authority ought to determine what is fit and convenient. Yet the laws of the Church are mutable, the power that imposed may alter and amend them. But if the Church exist in a Christian land, and have the happiness to be governed by Christian princes, that is to say, by those who are in profession such, it does not become an *imperium in imperio*, a society which may set at nought the sovereign on the plea of conscience, it requires a visible head to whom its proceedings may be referred, and who may protect its rights and shield it from oppression. And, seeing that large assemblies of the clergy have been made, and from their nature may again become, the centres of sedition, and that the ancient theory of the supremacy was utterly at variance with the dependence of the civil power upon the clergy, the twenty-first article declares, that general councils may not be summoned without the consent of the civil power. If it be objected that a Church thus constituted subjects its doctrine to the decision of the prince, the answer is that practically and in the last resort she subjects it neither to the prince nor the clergy. She regards it as a deposit too sacred to be intrusted unconditionally to the keeping of the wisest or of the most potent of mankind. The Scriptures only are infallible. All human decisions have weight with her so long only as they are in accordance with this standard, and

should they be discovered to be erroneous she may at any time seek their reversal by every lawful means.

A considerable party, of whom, until his secession, Archdeacon Wilberforce was the leader, are now engaged in resolute warfare against the Royal supremacy in things spiritual. "The ancient principle of Church au [illegible] say, "depended on the fact that the gift of guidan [illegible] its dwelling in our Lord, had been inherited by the [illegible]y of his followers." It was essential, therefore, to [illegible], that they should act toge-ther. In process of [illegible]iops were formed into a pro-vince, and, to preserve [illegible] unity, all these provinces, it is affirmed, owned sub [illegible] successor of St. Peter. This system, which necessa [illegible]uccessor of St. Peter the last standard of reference [illegible]rs of doctrine, was changed in England under H [illegible] His Parliament declared (24 Henry VIII., chapter 12) "that this realm of England is an empire; the spiritual authority of which, now being usually called the English Church, whether for knowledge, integrity, or sufficiency of number, has been always thought, and is at this hour, sufficient to declare and determine all such doubts, and to administer all such offices as to their functions spiritual appertain." The next year, the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England was assigned to Henry VIII. After the revolution it was again bestowed on Queen Anne, and is still inherent in our sovereigns. Now the Tractarians, as represented by Mr. Wilberforce, deny the lawfulness of this transfer of supremacy. Every bishop, they say, according to the theory of the ancient Church, had authority throughout the whole world, though the laws of the Church indicated the particular spot in which that authority should be exercised. But the oath of supremacy denies all authority, spiritual or temporal, to any bishop who is not a subject of the Crown; it excludes the authority of the bishop of New York as much as that of the bishop of Rome, and thus denies that article of the creed that there is but one holy Catholic Church. What they complain of is, that the bishops of our two provinces have done that which only the universal Church, as embodied in the pope, would have a right to do; for it is clear, they tell us, that the function assumed by our sovereigns is exactly that which, according to the ancient Church, belonged to the chief apostle. The purpose of the oath of supre-

nacy, says Mr. Wilberforce, was "to break up the one body of Christ into divers national societies:" whereas "Christ had built his Church on his chief apostle, that its extension through the world might leave its continuity unaffected." To maintain his argument he asserts, first, that the British Church was, from the beginning, dependent on Rome. He cites Bede to prove that Pope Eleutherus first planted the gospel in England, and that Celestine, the Roman pontiff, sent Palladius, the first missionary, to the Scots. Both these statements are very doubtful, but we refer the reader who may wish to investigate the subject to Dr. Mèrle D'Aubigne's volume, lately published, "On the Reformation in England." We think it is sufficiently proved that neither Scotland, Wales, nor Ireland, nor even England, which received the gospel last, was indebted, for the light of divine truth, to the popes of Rome; and, were it otherwise, it remains to be proved that gratitude for even so great a blessing compelled us to submit to the papal usurpation (unknown to Eleutherus and Celestine) as it existed in the fifteenth century. Mr. Wilberforce, however, argues further, that even had the British Church been justified in separating herself from Rome, this would be nothing to the Church of England. We are not Celts, and our English Church has nothing in common with the primitive Churches of Great Britain. We are indebted for our religion to Gregory the Great and his monk Augustine. And, lastly, Mr. Wilberforce denies that the Royal supremacy was accepted voluntarily by the English Church. The Act of Supremacy was, he says, "imposed by force, and disguised by fraud," and he refers to the execution of More and Fisher, and to the penalties inflicted by Acts of Parliament (25 Henry VIII., chapter 22, and 26 Henry VIII., chapter 13) on those who should deny the King's supremacy. We cannot help remarking here, that the difficulty raised by Mr. Wilberforce is one of little importance. In the time of Henry VIII., and long afterwards, legislation was beforehand with public opinion. At length public opinion overtook it, and whether the people of England were disposed or not, if fairly canvassed, to reject the Papal and accept the Royal supremacy in 1534, there can be no doubt whatever of their fixed resolution upon the subject from a period commencing fifty years afterwards and extending to the present hour. For all reasonable purposes, it may safely be considered as an accomplished fact, which the English people has no disposition to disturb.

The results of the English system of Church authority, according to Mr. Wilberforce, are to place us in a state of endless schism against the whole Catholic Church, and to countenance the pernicious error of private judgment: and, since each of these is inconsistent with that theory of the Church's unity which he adopts, his retirem ...nly alternative; and with his principles it is only in ...f Rome that he can find repose. Her alleged c... doctrine, and her palpable failure in that which i... of a true Church and the proof of her vitality, p... ...wer of regenerating nations and elevating the tone ...rtue and public morals in the states committed to h... ...eeping and watched over by her vigilant eye; thes... ...lrances to a writer who can gravely maintain, that ... set up Holy Scripture against the Church, when it is ... the Church's judgment that we are assured of its authority (page 283). Our Saviour's declaration that men and churches are to be known by their fruits, and the apostolic admonition to try the spirits, because Anti-Christ is abroad in the world, fall pointless before such a dogma as this; which, indeed, represents the lowest conceivable degree of mental abasement and prostration. The Scriptures are, in fact, a flaming sword turning every way except against the Church—that is, the Church embodied in and represented by the papacy. Her vices are proof against its twofold edge. The record has no value till she stamps it with the signet of her authority. And, in return for the favour thus conferred upon it, it has undertaken to be silent upon the delinquencies of its generous benefactress!

Thus the Anglo-Catholic movement stands. It now involves a great political question fundamental to the English constitution, and, in its present state, it seems impossible that it should long remain. The denial of the supremacy involves many questions of almost daily occurrence, and can scarcely be compromised or passed over in silence. The alternatives which seem to lie before us at length are, either the secession of the Anglo-Catholics of Mr. Wilberforce's school or a political revolution—for nothing less would that change really be, whether brought about by force or statute law, which should deprive the sovereign of these realms of his right to be "in all causes ecclesiastical as well as civil within his dominions supreme."

ANTINOMIANS.—Antinomianism (ἀντὶ and νόμος) is more properly the designation of a scheme of religious doctrine than of a separate sect. Antinomians are found, at times, in union with almost every Church, and have, in fact, never existed apart, but always in connection with some body of professing Christians. Their theory is, that Christians are free from the restraints not only of the ceremonial, but of the moral law; that God neither sees nor punishes sin in the elect; that, being clothed with the righteousness of Christ, they are, in such a sense, complete in him, that their own conduct no longer affects their position in the sight of God. The more cautious Antinomians guard, and practically neutralize, these statements by another, namely, that in the elect the renewed nature so indisposes for sin, that a life of immorality is incompatible with the possibility of being amongst the numbers of the elect. But it cannot be denied that in the hands of ignorant men the doctrine is often made a pretext for a vicious life.

Antinomianism has showed itself in every age of the Church. St. Paul evidently alludes to it as an existing evil, Romans iii. 8. In England it appeared soon after the Reformation, and took firm hold of some of the "sectaries," and especially the "Anabaptists." During the reigns of James and Charles I. the infection spread, but it was at the close of the Civil War, and during the protectorate of Cromwell, that it attained its greatest violence. The writers of this period constantly speak of the Antinomians as a strong political party; and the reader unacquainted with their history would suppose they were a separate church, or isolated body, instead of being, as the fact was, dispersed throughout almost every religious sect, but more especially the Anabaptists.

Before the civil war Antinomianism had made few converts, except amongst the illiterate; at a later period it numbered some men of station and learning among its advocates. One of the chief of these was Dr. Crisp, rector of Brinkworth, in Wiltshire, whose father was a London merchant and sheriff of the city. Having fled from his living at the opening of the war, he resided in London till his death, in 1643. He preached with so much success in defence of his peculiar views that the Presbyterian divines of London were alarmed, and from them he met with a most vigorous opposition. He engaged in a grand debate,

and had no less than fifty-two opponents. When his sermons were published, in 1646, the Westminster Assembly of Divines was sitting, and they are said to have discussed the propriety of having his books burnt as heretical: he was also opposed by the learned Dr. Gataker, rector of Rotherhithe, with great ability, and, what was still more r ys, with courtesy. Dr. Crisp was not unworthy of ice, for he was in private life an excellent man, witl rally superficial and confused. He meant well, and w n shocked at the conclusions, legitimate as they m , which some of his disciples have drawn from his s a political party the Antinomians were equally o Charles, to the Parliament, and to Cromwell; al ition, and seldom very scrupulous in their choice ts or means. Their political importance ceased wi ration, and they have never since attempted, in En ain it. Antinomianism may be considered the disease of Ultra-Calvinism, as Socinianism is that of extravagant Arminianism, and it is now found chiefly in connection with a few obscure congregations amongst the Baptists. Let it be observed, however, that their errors have never been more ably exposed, or condemned with more severity, than by divines of that communion. Robert Hall, in 1816, spoke of it "as making rapid strides through the land, and having already convulsed and disorganised so many of our (Baptist) churches." He concludes his eloquent indictment against it in the following words:—"As almost every age of the Church is marked by its appropriate visitation of error, so little penetration is necessary to perceive that Antinomianism is the epidemic malady of the present, and that it is an evil of gigantic size and deadly malignity. It is qualified for mischief by the very properties which might seem to render it merely an object of contempt—its vulgarity of conception, its paucity of ideas, its determined hostility to taste, science, and letters. It includes within a compass which every head can contain, and every tongue can utter, a system which cancels every moral tie, consigns the whole human race to the extremes of presumption or despair, erects religion on the ruins of morality, and imparts to the dregs of stupidity all the powers of the most active poison." ("Treatise on Christian Baptism compared with the Baptism of John.")

ANS.—This once powerful party, which overspread the
stern Churches, and held them in subjection to its tenets,
its name from Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria. About
9 he first published his heresy, which consisted in the
the true divinity of our Lord. Arius appears to have
ambitious man, of popular manners though reserved,
calculated to become the leader of a party. He was one
ir preachers of Alexandria, and Alexandria was at that
e the most eminent of the Christian Churches. His
read with inconceivable rapidity, though with the
influence was greater abroad than at home. Alex-
p of Alexandria, about the year 323 cited Arius
ting of his clergy, where he was allowed to state his
ly and to argue in their defence. After some delay
s followers were excommunicated. The sentence
y a provincial council.

led from Egypt, Arius found refuge in Palestine,
Antioch was pre-eminent among the churches of
, and Lesser Asia. The original centre of apos-
ong the heathen, and numbering Ignatius and
ome among its bishops, it was regarded with
at reverence afterwards paid by the Western
ee of Rome. It had, however, lost its purity.
of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, was opposed
ern bishops held in that city on account of his
ming the nature of Christ. It was here
ned for its reception that Arianism struck
eneral of the neighbouring bishops, Eusebius
siastical historian, Eu
, and other Syrian



and yet more ignorant of its doctrines. Eusebius of Nicomedia was an Arian, but he was the spiritual adviser of Constantia the emperor's sister; and through her influence the Arians obtained no small share of the imperial favour. On the other hand, the orthodox party, headed by Alexander, eagerly demanded his interference to crush the portentous heresy. Constantine was anxious only for the peace of the Church; and, as he himself admits, was unable to perceive, not only the merits but the importance of the quarrel. In a letter addressed jointly to Alexander and Arius he says: "On investigation, I must say, that the reasons for the eagerness on both sides appear to me insignificant and worthless. Is it right for brothers to oppose brothers for the sake of trifles?" Such an appeal could have no effect with the orthodox or Catholic Christians. They returned for answer a request that the matter might be submitted to the decision of a general council. Constantine consented, "and summoned," says Valerius in his life of Eusebius, "from all parts of the Roman world to Nicæa, a city of Bithynia, a general synod of bishops, such as no age before had seen."

The first general Council of Nice, A.D. 325, was attended by about three hundred prelates; the number of Arian bishops did not exceed twenty-two. These figures seem to show that the laity and inferior clergy had broken loose, and that the episcopate, the heads of the church, were comparatively sound while the whole body was infected. Arius defended his opinions before the Council with subtlety and courage. He offered great concessions. A creed was presented, drawn up by Eusebius of Cæsarea, in which every term of honour and dignity, with one exception, was bestowed upon the Son of God. But the orthodox clearly saw that these concessions did but conceal the real questions in dispute. The Arians said that Jesus Christ was a creature, the Catholics that he was very God. Many tests were proposed and accepted; at length the Arians were requested to subscribe to the proposition that the Son was ὁμοούσιος θεῷ, consubstantial with the Father; *i. e.*, that he was literally of, and in, the one indivisible essence which we adore as God. Arius refusing to assent was condemned and banished, and his followers excommunicated. But a great change soon happened in the fortunes of the party. Through the influence of his favourite sister, Constantine was induced to extend his favour to the Arians; the Arian

bishops were recalled to their dioceses. Arius himself returned in triumph to Alexandria furnished with a rescript from Constantine to the bishop, in which the latter was commanded to re-admit him into the bosom of the Church, before a certain day, on pain of expulsion from his see. Alexander, it is said, betook himself to prayer and fasting, and on the evening before the day of his proposed triumph, Arius suddenly expired. His death was regarded by the orthodox as an answer to the pious intercessions of the Church. But the cause of his death has been much disputed; it is not improbable, considering the violence and rage of his opponents as well as of his own followers, that he fell a victim to poison or secret violence. The loss of their leader did not disanimate his party. Constantius, the son of Constantine, espoused the cause. Three hundred prelates assemble at the great Council of Milan, A.D. 355, and Constantius himself was present. Here the condemnation of Athanasius, the champion of the orthodox creed, was universally agreed upon. The next year Liberius, bishop of Rome, subscribed to the Arian creed; and thus Arianism appeared triumphant over both the eastern and western Churches. Julian would of course, infidel as he was, treat the matter with indifference; succeeding emperors alternately befriended and opposed the heretics. At length Arianism was a second time condemned by the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381. After this date it formed a sect without the pale of the Church, and chiefly amongst the barbarians, and in the outskirts of the Roman empire: we lose sight of it altogether when the Gothic nations forsook their ancient homes and rushed to the conquest of Italy and southern Europe.

The sudden outburst of Arianism and its rapid triumph deserve consideration. They serve to throw light upon the real state of the early Church in the fourth century, as well as to explain the dangers by which it had been for some time surrounded.

The explanation most favourable to the orthodox party is, that engaged hitherto in the simple practice of piety, surrounded with danger, and consisting for the most part of persons in humble life, it was taken by surprise. No formal creed existed, if perhaps the brief summary called the Apostles' Creed be excepted. The profound reverence which the primitive Church had for whatever concerned the nature of the Godhead, and especially of the Son of God, rendered it liable to the artifices of designing men,

and even exposed it to their attacks. A devout mind shrinks from the cold investigation of a subject it has been accustomed to approach only with adoration or with awe. The proper Deity of Jesus Christ had never been disputed; his manhood only had been questioned; but even this heresy, monstrous it was, clearly shows the undoubting reverence which was paid to his Divine nature. Accustomed [illegible] ip the three Persons of the Trinity as one God, s[illegible]on the mode of their coexistence, or the nature [illegible]onality, were unknown; and when they first appear[illegible]ncy was not all at once perceived. The equivoca[illegible] after his opinions had been condemned, and his re[illegible]opt the current phraseology of the orthodox chur[illegible] added to the perplexity of simple minds. Misle[illegible] it is probable that vast numbers followed him with[illegible] all aware of the fact that he denied the Godhead o[illegible], as a necessary consequence, the whole work of the Atonement. That so many of the orthodox bishops at first espoused his cause, and afterwards joined in his condemnation, seems greatly in favour of this conjecture. They were simple-minded men led astray by one, the tendency of whose doctrine they did not fully understand.

But other causes, less creditable to the Church of the fourth century, concurred. One of these was the *disciplina arcani*, or secret discipline, which the clergy studiously enforced. It consisted in the exclusion of the pagans, as far as possible, from all acquaintance with the peculiar doctrines and mysteries of the Christian faith. They were told, in general, that there was only one God, and that he was to be worshipped through Jesus Christ; beyond this, everything was reserved until their baptism. Even the catechumens were held in ignorance of many of the essential doctrines of the Gospel. The Scriptures were not generally read; and it was evidently the intention of the clergy to confine the people to such an acquaintance with the doctrines of Christianity as might be gained from a tradition deposited with themselves. Those points in which we now carefully instruct our children were then as carefully concealed. For example, the eucharist was treated as a mystery; and the prelates of Constantinople are severely blamed for having officiously taken Constantine into the sacred precincts and explained the whole of the ceremonial before his baptism. On the whole,

it is not easy to avoid the conclusion that the laity were in a state of lamentable ignorance. When we see whole churches passing from orthodoxy to Arianism, and again from Arianism to orthodoxy, in the course of a few years, it is not uncharitable to infer their indifference to both creeds, or, at least, their want of a right perception of the importance of the points at issue.

It has long been a question keenly agitated, whether the Platonic philosophy was not the true parent of the Arian heresy. The discussion is still pursued, in our own times, with all the keenness that belongs to a party strife, the point which it involves being the purity of the ante-Nicene Church. However, it will not be denied that the writings of Plato were held, even from the second century, in high admiration with some of the fathers; or that a large body of "Platonists" existed within the Church itself, who openly avowed that the germs of Christianity lay hid in the writings of the great philosopher; that Christianity was, in fact, a development of Platonism. It was a frequent practice, even with those of the fathers of reputed orthodoxy, to present Divine truth, as far as possible, under the disguise of the Greek philosophy, rather than with the simplicity of Christ. Dr. Newman, in his learned history of the Arians, admits the fact, and suggests the following excuses for it:— "The reasons which induced the early fathers to avail themselves of the language of Platonism were various. They did so partly as an *argumentum ad hominem;* as if the Christians were not professing in the doctrine of the Trinity a more mysterious tenet than that which had been propounded by a great heathen authority; partly to conciliate their philosophical opponents; partly to save themselves the arduousness of inventing terms, where the Church had not yet authoritatively supplied them; and partly with the hope, or even belief, that the Platonic school had been guided in portions of its system by a more than human wisdom, of which Moses was the unknown but real source."

Arianism, properly so called, produced a multitude of sects, generally classed together as semi-Arians; these were the Eusebians, Aëtians, Eunomians, Acacians, Psathyrians, and others. They differed amongst themselves in assigning various degrees of exaltation to the second person in the Trinity; but all of them denied that he was ὁμοούσιος, consubstantial with the

Father. They disappeared with the parent heresy, and their history is not deserving of further notice. (See Eusebius's Life of Constantine; Valesius, de Vitâ Eusebii Cæsariens; Mosheim, Ecc. History; Blakey, Hist. Philosophy; Newman, Hist. of the Arians.

ARMENIAN CHU Gospel was introduced into Armenia at a ver probably in the days of the apostles; and, if not , at least by some of their numerous converts in ng provinces of Asia Minor. But the remoteness o on, inclosed with mountains, and bordering on the prevented their intercourse with the Churches of sia, and has left us ignorant of their history in its t t days. Armenia was a wild and barbarous land; it is probable that the population was scanty and communication slow; for the climate is in many parts severe, and the snow rests upon the mountains in July. Thus, it was not till the fourth century that Christianity was established. Gregory, called the Enlightener, from having dispelled the darkness of the Armenian superstitions, converted Tiridates, the king, and his nobles, about the beginning of this century. The Greek Churches of Lesser Asia naturally became the model and the preceptor of the newly-converted kingdom; and Gregory was consecrated bishop of the Armenians by Leontius, bishop of Cappadocia. In the year 457, the great synod of Chalcedon, the fourth general or œcumenical council, was held; but from the disorders of their country, or their ignorance of the Greek tongue, the Armenian clergy were not amongst the four hundred and thirty bishops assembled. Yet from this period we must date the corruption of the Armenian Church, and its exclusion from the orthodox communion.

In the year 424, Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, first broached the doctrine, that in the Saviour of mankind there were not only two natures, as the orthodox doctrine teaches, but two persons; or a Divine person, taking up his abode in a human person. Nestorius was a prelate of high character, and of that intellectual subtlety which passed for the loftiest wisdom. He defended his position with great skill, and soon had many converts. To put an end to the controversy, a general council,

being the third so called, assembled at Ephesus, in 431. The famous Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, presided, who, in his haste to condemn Nestorius, refused to wait for the bishop of Antioch and a large body of eastern bishops who accompanied him. Nestorius was deposed, and his doctrines anathematized, but such a proceeding was not likely to restore peace to the distracted Churches; and, notwithstanding the decision of the council, Nestorianism continued to increase. It is the nature of all error to generate its opposite extreme. Amongst the opponents of Nestorius, one of the most zealous was Eutyches, chief, or archimandrite, of a monastery of three hundred monks, near Constantinople, who in opposing Nestorius fell into the opposite error, and denied not only the duality of persons in the Saviour, but the duality of natures too; maintaining that, in the person of Christ, the human nature and the Divine are one; the human being, as it were, absorbed into the Divine. This error is, perhaps, in its consequences more serious than the former; it seems, if followed out to its legitimate conclusions, to overthrow the atonement and the eternal priesthood of Christ. Eutyches, however, like Nestorius, had many followers, and his doctrine was formally condemned by the council of Chalcedon which assembled for that purpose. Still it continued to spread rapidly, and at this day all the Eastern Churches, except the Greek Church, are divided between the heresy of Nestorius on the one hand, and that of Eutyches on the other. The Armenian Church espoused the cause, and embraced the errors of Eutyches; so too did the Syrian or Jacobite, the Coptic, and the Abyssinian Churches. Eutychianism, it is true, so far as its name and the precise statements of its leader were concerned, was soon repudiated; but the radical error introduced by him retains its ascendancy in these four Churches, which are hence called *Monophysite*, or, sometimes, *Monothelite;* and of course they reject the decrees of the fourth general council.

Armenia has been one of the most unfortunate of nations; from the earliest period to the present time, as Gibbon has remarked, the theatre of perpetual war, and seldom permitted to enjoy even the tranquillity of servitude. Yet the zeal of the Armenians for their religion has never failed. Overrun successively by Seljucks, Mamluks, Ottomans, and Persians, they have always adhered with intrepid devotion to the ancient faith.

About the year 1605, Abbas Shah of Persia, carried away twelve thousand families to Ispahan, where many of their descendants are to be found. Except the Jews they are probably the most widely dispersed of any people under heaven. Their merchants are found in every European market, in all Asia, in India, at Singapore, and in the islands of the Eastern Archipelago. Still their impoverished c ed, in the last century, a splendid hierarchy and y rich endowments. It was governed by four pat om the chief, or *catholicos*, resided at Etchmiadz to these were about sixty archbishops, who, ag their own suffragans and inferior clergy. A gre erature prevailed in Armenia during the period kn n Europe as the dark ages; and, until a recent pe e several Armenian presses, conducted by themsel is capitals. An Armenian Bible was printed at Amsterdam in the sixteenth century; several religious treatises were published at Marseilles for the use of this wandering people; and at Venice a congregation of Armenian monks has existed on the Island of St. Lazaro since 1715, who constantly issue works on literature, theology, and science, for the benefit of their own countrymen. In wealth and numbers the Armenian Church is still the most important of the Eastern Churches with the sole exception of the Greek Church. Until nearly the middle of the sixth century it remained in communion with this as the mother-church; but in 536, at a synod assembled at Therin by the patriarch Nerses of Ardhagar, the decree of the Council of Chalcedon asserting the two natures of Christ was formally condemned, and the Monophysite doctrine asserted, and thus it was the connection between the Armenian and the old Greek Church was dissolved.

In other respects the doctrines of the Armenian Church agree with those of the Greek Church. They deny that "the Holy Ghost is of the Father *and of the Son;*" they intercede for the dead, maintain the invocation of the Virgin, and of saints and angels, and hold the cross in superstitious reverence. The common people, at least, believe it has power to intercede with God, and to protect from evil; and they make crosses in imitation of it in metal and other materials which are consecrated in water and wine. They frequently make the sign of the cross,

which they consider the mark by which Christ knows his sheep. They hold that in the Eucharist there is a transmutation of the elements into the real body and blood of Christ, and that this sacrament is a propitiatory sacrifice to God.

The catholicos or primate, resides at Etchmiadzin; an Armenian bishop resides at Constantinople, and another at the Armenian convent in Jerusalem. Each of these assumes the title of patriarch, though it is said they are not strictly such, but rather superior bishops, possessing certain privileges which the catholicos confers. Since, by the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, a large portion of Upper Armenia was ceded to the czar, the catholicos is a subject of Russia; which indeed exercises almost unlimited sway over both the Greek and Armenian Churches.

The see of Rome has always displayed great anxiety to obtain a footing amongst the Churches of the East. The exclusion of the Monophysites from the Greek communion seemed to lay them open to her missions; and we find that so early as the fourteenth century a Roman Catholic archbishop was sent to Armenia and fixed at Soldan with authority to govern the Church, by Pope John XXIII. The present *Armenian Catholic Church* was founded in this manner; and is, in fact, a branch of the Church of Rome. Of this communion, the Armenian Catholic patriarch, who resides at Constantinople, is the head under the pope. But the successes of the Church of Rome in the East are trivial: the proselytes acknowledge little more than a nominal dependence; and what influence she possesses has been obtained by many concessions, both in doctrine and in discipline to the prejudices of her oriental subjects. Amongst the latter may be named the title of Patriarch, which is unknown to the Western Churches, and which is here conceded to the head of the Romish Armenians.

It may be proper to mention here the labours of Protestant missionaries amongst the Eastern Churches. In the year 1841, the Anglican bishopric of Jerusalem was established with a view, not only to the conversion of the Jews, but also to the cultivation of friendly relations with the oriental Churches. The bishop, however, was instructed rather to attempt the spiritual improvement of these several communions than to make proselytes to the Church of England. The American Episcopal Church have had a missionary at Constantinople for the last eighteen years

on the same principle. A mission chiefly of inquiry and investigation was formed by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, about the year 1841, for the Nestorian churches: it was soon afterwards withdrawn, partly from want of funds and partly from reluctance to interfere with foreign churches. The Church Missionary Society, and the American Board of Missions, have long had their agents in Syria. From all these agencies cou extensive spirit of inquiry, a thirst for knowledge, rnest desires of reformation, have been excited in ; and it is now an anxious question (with which, s not for us to deal in these pages) how these pr opeful appearances shall be met, whether by rec uirers into our own communions, or by confining ıe attempt to ameliorate and reform their own. F ımstance that an Armenian patriarch resides at ıd that a great number of Armenians reside in Palestine, the decision of this question is likely, whether for good or evil, deeply to influence the future character of the Armenian Church. At present, the decision of the bishop of Jerusalem is understood to be, that proselytes seeking admission may be received into our communion, and it deserves to be noticed that the American episcopal missionaries have concurred at length in a similar conclusion. (See Badger's Visit to the Nestorian Churches; Christian Observer, Jan. 1854; Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chap. viii.; Mosheim, Ecc. Hist., vol. ii.)

ARMINIANS.—This title belongs to those who hold certain doctrinal opinions, and are members of different Churches, rather than to any sect or insulated party. It is derived from Arminius, or Hermansen, a Dutch divine, who Latinised his name after the pedantic custom of his times. He was born at Oudewater in 1560, and was educated for the ministry under the great Protestant teachers of Holland, Aemilius and the elder Bertius; and afterwards at Geneva under Theodore Beza, Calvin's friend and pupil. He presided fifteen years over a flourishing church at Amsterdam, where, in one of the chief seats of learning and of the reformation, his eloquence and zeal placed him amongst the foremost men of his age. In the year 1603 he was invited to Leyden to succeed the celebrated Junius as professor of divinity

He had not long undertaken this honourable post when his theological opinions on some important points underwent a great change. He rejected the peculiar tenets of Calvin, and became the great teacher of a contrary scheme of doctrine, which has been known ever since by his name as the Arminian scheme. In all the reformed Churches Calvin's fame was then high, especially in Holland, for the Dutch clergy received their education from Geneva. Arminius soon felt the weight of the civil and spiritual arm both laid heavily upon him. He was assailed as a heretic by his former associates, and often reviled in the most offensive language; and he was summoned before the States-General to defend and explain his principles. He appears to have been a man of a gentle though firm spirit, and sunk prematurely beneath the difficulties of his position. He died at the age of forty-eight in 1609. The bitterness of the controversies in which he was entangled provokes a melancholy smile. During his last illness the sight of one eye failing, his enemies exulted in the fulfilment of a prophecy of Zechariah, "Woe to the idol shepherd; the sword shall be upon his arm and upon his right eye." Peter Bertius, the younger, delivered a funeral oration on his death before the University of Leyden. "After all their profane appeal to Scripture," he exclaims, "it was not the right eye of Arminius that was disordered, but the left: neither was it utter darkness, only a dimness. Away, ye vile detractors, ye voracious blackbeetles of the age!" This is sufficient to show the spirit of the times.

The Arminian, or Calvinistic, or Quinquarticular controversy, for by these names it is known amongst divines, turns upon the following points:—1. Predestination, or the eternal decrees of election and reprobation, including a multitude of minor questions, such as, Whether these decrees, or either of them, exist. Whether they are absolute or conditional. Whether faith or holiness are foreseen in the elect so as to form the cause of their election, &c. 2. Free will. 3. Effectual grace; or whether saving grace can or cannot be resisted. 4. The extent of Christ's redemption: whether it extends to all mankind, or to those only who shall be finally saved. 5. The perseverance of the saints; or whether, having received grace, the recipient can finally fall away and perish. It is foreign to our purpose to enter, in the least degree, upon the discussion of these deep and solemn ques-

tions. A calm statement of the arguments upon both sides would form a considerable treatise, and one, we will take leave to add, which, if impartially written by a competent pen, would be an important addition to the Christian theology of the Catholic Church. Bishop Burnet, on the seventeenth Article, approaches more nearly to this idea than anything we have met with; but his statement is brief, though sufficient, perhaps, for the general reader.

These controverted points have occupied pious and thoughtful men in all ages. Saint Augustine wrote upon them in the fourth century: and he it was, indeed, who first reduced into a systematic form the code of doctrines which, since the Reformation, are termed Calvinistic, holding the affirmative side on all of the five points aforesaid. Calvin warmly embraced the Augustinian theology (see CALVINISTS), and was followed by all the continental Churches of the Reformation, more or less exactly. But differences of opinion very soon arose, which no doubt were widened by the fact that Calvin's system, with regard to its more difficult and abstruse points, was often rudely pushed to an unwarrantable extreme, or stated with a want of that caution which the great master has displayed. Arminius's share in the controversy arose from a singular occurrence. A pamphlet was issued at Delft "in answer to the arguments adduced by Beza and Calvin concerning predestination from the ninth chapter to the Romans." This was transmitted to Arminius with a request that he would answer it. He readily undertook to do so, having recently left the University of Geneva, and "his ears still tingling with the sound of Beza's lectures there" upon the same subject. But, says Peter Bertius in his funeral oration, "he was converted by the force of truth, and at first became a convert to the very opinions he had undertaken to refute." The remainder of his life was spent in opposing the doctrines in which he had been educated, and founding a new school of theology amongst the Churches of the Reformation.

It is necessary that we should consider the sentiments of Arminius himself before we proceed to state those which, immediately after his death, were foisted on the world in his name, and have ever since been produced, from time to time, as if sanctioned by his authority. Arminius was the leader of the *evangelical* Arminians. His system of theology, as stated and

defended by himself before the States of Holland, when charged by his colleague Gomarus with teaching heresy, in 1606, includes the following propositions:—1. The decree of God, he says, has its foundation in his foreknowledge, by which he knew from all eternity those individuals who would, through his preventing grace, believe, and through his subsequent grace would persevere: by the same foreknowledge he knew those who would not believe and persevere. 2. Concerning the free will of man, this, he says, is my opinion: man is not capable of and by himself either to think, or will, or do, that which is really good; but it is necessary for him to be regenerated and renewed in his intellect, and all his powers, by God in Christ, through the Holy Spirit; and when he is made a partaker of this regeneration, I consider that he is capable of willing, thinking, and doing that which is good, but still not without the continual aid of Divine grace. 3. In reference to Divine grace, I believe that it is gratuitous on God's part, and that it consists of an infusion of those gifts of the Spirit which pertain to the regeneration and renewing of man. I ascribe to grace the commencement, the continuance, and consummation of all good; and to such an extent do I carry this influence, that a man, although regenerate, can neither conceive, or will, or do any good at all, nor resist any evil temptation, without this preventing and co-operating grace; but I deny, and the whole controversy reduces itself to this question, that the grace of God is an irresistible force. 4. My sentiments respecting the perseverance of the saints are, that those who have been grafted into Christ through true faith, possess sufficient power to resist all their spiritual enemies through Christ. He adds, with singular modesty, and the sentiment was repeated almost in the same words in a conference with Gomarus only two months before his death, "Though I avow openly I never taught that a true believer can either totally, or finally, fall away from the faith and perish; yet I will not conceal that there are passages of Scripture which seem to me to wear this aspect; and those answers to them which I have been permitted to see are not of such a kind as to approve themselves on all points to my understanding. On the other hand, certain passages which are adduced in favour of the contrary doctrine, namely, that of final perseverance, are worthy of much consideration." Arminius defends his doctrines from Scripture primarily: he maintains, further,

that none of the great doctors of the Church for six hundred years after Christ received St. Augustine's doctrine of predestination; and that, within the same period, no council admitted or approved it; that the Dutch Confessions of Faith were in his favour, as well as the Confession of the Church of England. He adds, in the custom of his age, an array of arguments which belong to metaphysics pure theology. Evangelical Arminianism, as thu is held extensively both by high and low churchn urch of England; and it is a part of the systemat all the Wesleyan Methodists (see WESLEYAN MET may be worth while to quote the following passage gs of John Wesley:—"The errors charged upon called Arminians by their opponents are five: deny original sin. 2. That they deny justificatio 3. That they deny absolute predestination. 4. That they deny the grace of God to be irresistible. 5. And that they affirm that a believer can fall from grace. With regard to the two first of these charges they plead not guilty. They are entirely false. No man that ever lived ever asserted either original sin or justification by faith in more strong, more clear, and express terms than Arminius has done. These two points, therefore, are to be set out of the question. In these both parties agree. But there is an undeniable difference between the Calvinists and Arminians with regard to the three other questions: here they divide."

After the death of Arminius the controversy, which had hitherto been confined to the five points, very soon assumed another character. The bitterness of the contest had already induced the States-General to interfere, and to hear the defence of Arminius from his own lips. The Calvinistic party now made a resolute attempt to expel and silence the Arminians as disturbers of the common peace, and on the ground that the Belgic confession of faith, as they affirmed, condemned their tenets. Thus the magistracy were led to interfere. There were already two parties in the state, headed by Maurice, the prince of Orange, the stadtholder, on one side, and Barneveldt, Grotius, and Hoogerbeets on the other; and the Arminians at once became political as well as a religious party. As the minority, and men oppressed, they naturally fell into the hands of the liber party, who were in opposition to Maurice the stadtholder, whc

they suspected of a design upon the liberties of their new republic. At the same time a new school of Arminian divines arose; speculative men, who began to question the whole system of evangelical truth. They were already charged with Pelagianism and Socinianism at a conference held in 1611, and the subsequent conduct of some of their leaders shows, that the suspicions of the Calvinists were not altogether without foundation. The learned editor of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History maintains, indeed, that this was nothing more than the development of Arminius's own scheme, and that his followers were merely guilty of propagating his own doctrines with more courage and perspicuity. But the charge rests upon no better support than a wish he had expressed, that all true followers of Christ, except the Papists, with whom no union could be kept, "might form one flock on earth as they will be gathered into one fold in heaven." We cannot but state this, as a painful instance of the merciless bigotry with which the reputation of Arminius has been assailed. However, the flame spread; and, to put an end to a theological contest which convulsed the state, it was resolved by Maurice and the States General to assemble a synod or council, where the two parties should meet, and by whose decision the question should be set at rest. This was the famous synod of Dordt, which bore more of the character of a general council than any assembly hitherto convened by Protestants. It met in 1618, consisting of ecclesiastical deputies from the United Provinces, parts of Germany, and Switzerland. James I. of England sent four representatives—Carlton bishop of Llandaff; Hall, afterwards bishop of Norwich, Davenant, divinity professor at Cambridge, and Samuel Ward, master of Sydney College. The synod consisted altogether of thirty-six ministers, five professors, twenty elders of the United States, and twenty-eight coadjutors. It assembled in January and sat till May.

The proceedings of this synod are related in full by writers on both sides. There is no considerable disagreement with regard to facts, but the motives of the majority, and the spirit which animated them, are described in the most opposite colours. Calvinistic writers speak of them with the highest reverence. Richard Baxter declares that, since the days of the apostles, the Christian Church had never seen an assembly of more excellent divines. Capellus, a German professor, says the equity of the

fathers of this synod was such that no instance could be given, since the apostolic age, of any council in which heretics were heard more patiently, or the proceedings conducted with more sanctity. Bishop Hall speaks of them with high reverence, as worthy and eminent divines. On the other hand, the Arminian historians assert, that the condemnation of their party was resolved upon even bef[illegible] met, and that the majority had bound themselves [illegible] that effect. This accusation was repeated to bishop [illegible] r the historian, who gives it the most emphatic de[illegible] op's own words, "Sir, since I have lived to see so [illegible] ion cast on the memory of those worthy and emi[illegible] bless God that I yet live to vindicate them, by th[illegible]; clear, and assured attestation, which I am ready [illegible] th the solemnest oath if I shall be thereto requir[illegible] ial, a Scotchman, and John Hales of Eton, attende[illegible] lelegates, and were admitted to the sittings of the synod. From their letters it certainly appears, that Bogerman, the president, was violent and partial, frequently breaking out into railing and abuse. The Arminians were required to state their arguments in the first instance, and then listen to the refutations of the Calvinists. This they declined, choosing, as the accused party, to be themselves the respondents; in consequence they were expelled from the assembly. A solemn promise had been made to them, when summoned before the synod, that they should be allowed to defend and explain their opinions, as far as they should think proper, but this was refused. The English delegates seem to have acted the part of moderators. They several times interposed to soften the asperity of the synod, or to qualify its dogmas; still, upon the whole, they agreed with the Calvinists, and assented to the canons which the synod drew up. Mosheim says, in summing up the character of the divines assembled (and we acquiesce in his decision), that their sanctity, wisdom, and virtue have been exalted above all measure by the Calvinists, while their partiality, violence, and other faults have been exaggerated with some degree of malignity by the Arminians. Amongst the majority there were many who were equally distinguished by their learning and piety, and whose intentions at least were pure. On the other hand, the Arminians, if their complaints may be referred to the notions of equity of the nineteenth

century, had but too much reason for their indignant protestations.

The Arminians, then, were unanimously condemned. In consequence of the decision of the synod they were considered as the enemies of their country, and of the national faith. The civil power stepped in, and deprived them of all their posts and employments in Church or State; their ministers were silenced, and their congregations broken up. Barneveldt, their leader, died upon the scaffold on a political pretext; others were fined and imprisoned, and driven into exile. Many fled to the free city of Antwerp, others into France; others, accepting the invitation of Frederic duke of Holstein, settled in the duchy of Sleswick, and built, in honour of their benefactor, the town of Fredericstadt. Amongst the heads of this colony was the celebrated Vorstius, whose religious sentiments now varied essentially from the old Arminianism, and verged towards those of Socinus. On the death of Maurice, 1625, the exiles were permitted to return, and a religious toleration was proclaimed in Holland. They erected churches in several places, and founded a college at Amsterdam, of which Episcopius was the first professor. He too espoused the principles of Socinus; he was succeeded by Courcelles, Limborch, Leclerc, Wetstein, and others whose names have long been famous as critical scholars rather than divines. Indeed, according to Leclerc, all doctrinal or dogmatic teaching appears to have been laid aside. Some writers having said, that the Arminians acknowledged as brethren all those who held the Apostles' Creed, he expressly affirms "that this is a mistake; they go much further, they offer the hand of fellowship to all those who receive the sacred Scriptures as the only rule of faith and practice, and who are neither idolators or persecutors"—a definition which excludes only the Church of Rome. "Ils se trompent; ils offrent la communion à tous ceux qui reçoivent l'ecriture sainte comme la seule règle de la foi et des mœurs, et qui ne sont ni idolatres ni persecuteurs."—Biblioth. Ancienne et Mod. tom. xxv. p. 110.

Arminianism was supposed to have received its death-wound at Dordt, but appearances were false: it merely changed its abode, and reappeared in England with fresh vigour. Through a complication of events, in which politics were strangely interwoven with theological opinions, the heads of the Church of

England, and with it the high prelatic party of churchmen, became Arminians. Laud was made archbishop of Canterbury, and became their leader. In the quarrel which ensued between King Charles and his parliaments, the Arminians gradually ranged themselves with the king, the Calvinists with the parliament. When the [illegible] the Church of England was destroyed, and once n[illegible]ism seemed to perish with it. The restoration of C[illegible] place, Arminianism returned with prelacy, and hel[illegible]n half a century, undisputed sway in the Church o[illegible]; must be observed, however, that as the Arminiani[illegible]fered from that of the Dutch leader in many poin[illegible]f the divines of Charles II. and their successors [illegible]e. Laud combined it with views of sacrament[illegible]ich Arminius would have denounced as superst[illegible]er school of divines, though far from Socinianism, ... doctrines of grace into the shade, and dwelt more on the example of Christ than his atonement. Arminianism at last became a negative term, implying a negation of Calvinism rather than any exact system of theology whatever.

The disputes, and we may add, the violent passions, engendered in the discussion of these profound subjects, were not confined to the reformed Churches. During the whole of the sixteenth century the Church of Rome was agitated with the controversy upon grace and free-will. The Benedictines and Dominicans had already broken the ground; but the battle raged in its greatest fury between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, the latter being ably represented by the religious of the monastery of Port Royal, near Paris. Here again it happened, just as in Holland and Great Britain, that the controversy extended itself from religion to politics. The Jansenists of France became the reformers of the age, the men of free thought and bold discussion, while the Jesuit party were the advocates of the court and the old abuses, both in Church and State. At the same time, it is a curious fact that in Holland the Armini were the friends of liberty and free discussion, in France Calvinists; the two parties had changed places. The Jest who were Arminians, were now the persecutors, and the J senists, or Calvinists, the patient and afflicted sufferers. In course of the controversy appeals were made repeatedly by



ts to the court of Rome, and in every instance the papal ion condemned the Calvinists, and thus the papacy has d itself in the curious dilemma of holding patristic authority ı at the same time it condemns for heresy the opinions of ustine, the greatest of the Latin fathers. A full history of stirring events, which still leave their traces visible both in and at Rome, will be sought in the writings of the great s in the quarrel. The leading points were these. Many ıtes existed among the French clergy upon these subjects, ı Jansenius, bishop of Yprés, published his "*Augustinus*," 340. It was intended as much to expose the Jesuits, their erous casuistry and loose morals, as to circulate the doctrines ıe great father. The Jesuits appealed to Pope Innocent X., in 1653 issued a bull condemning, as impious and blas- ıous, five propositions said to be extracted from the "Augus- ." The Jansenists remonstrated. They declared that the ıcts condemned were unfairly made, so as to present, if false, a distorted, view of the meaning of Jansenius. But Jesuits were again victorious, and in 1656 the former bull confirmed by Alexander VII. The Port Royalists had dy espoused the cause of Jansen; and this year one of their r published a work of such originality, wit, and purity, as at to claim an undisputed place with literature of the highest . Of course we speak of Pascal's "Provincial Letters." The its were appalled; their boldest casuists were silenced; and, ct, no serious attempt was made to answer the "Provincial ers" for forty years. The Jesuits now, however, in pos- on of the pope's bull, and supported by the government of ıce, determined on the destruction of their adversaries, and 660 obtained the suppression of the schools of Port Royal, in 1664 the suppression of the abbey. The buildings were rwards levelled to the ground by Louis XIV., as defiled by sy. The contest with the pope languished till the beginning he last century, when it was suddenly revived by the publi- on of Quesnel's "Reflections on the Four Gospels." Quesnel a priest of the Congregation of the Oratoire, who had raced the views of Jansen and the Port Royalists. The ularity of his work was immense, showing clearly how strong ld the principles of the Anti-Jesuit party had on the mind France. The Jesuits once more appealed to Rome, and

obtained from Clement XI. the bull *Unigenitus*, in which Quesnel's work is condemned, and one hundred and one propositions extracted from it are declared to be heretical and blasphemous. Amongst them we find a number of propositions, the denial of which involves Arminianism of a much lower school than that of the Dutch divine. For instance, the following propositions are cond[illegible] "That the grace of Jesus Christ, the efficacious [illegible] very kind of good, is necessary to every good act [illegible] hat the true idea of grace is this, that God wills ou [illegible] d is obeyed." 3. "That no graces are given excep [illegible] th is the first grace and the fountain of all others. [illegible] ill, Quesnel speaks precisely as Arminius did. 4. ' [illegible] ch is not prevented by grace has no light but to g [illegible] trength but to wound itself; it is capable of all e [illegible] able of all good." Indeed, many of the doctrines [illegible] undamental to the system of Arminius are declared heretical by Clement; for instance: "that faith justifies when it works, but it does not work at all except by charity or love." That "he who does not lead a life becoming a child of God and a member of Christ ceases to have inwardly God for his father and Christ for his head." That "all other means of salvation are contained in faith as their seed and bud; but this faith includes love to God." Since the bull Unigenitus, Calvinism, in all its shades, has therefore been excluded from the Church of Rome as well as the evangelical Arminianism of the divines of Holland previous to the synod of Dordt.

The Arminian controversy was again revived in England, with great warmth, about the middle of the last century. The disputants were Wesley and his friends (the most able of whom in this discussion was Fletcher, vicar of Madeley), Benson and others on the Arminian side, and Toplady, Rowland Hill, and Whitfield on that of Calvinism. It is no slight upon these names, worthy in many ways of high respect, to say that they added nothing, on either side, to the weight of the arguments and objections already arrayed against each other, by the great masters of the previous century. The discussion now, however, for the first time, was purely theological. Neither party sought the assistance of the civil power or feared its interference. The result was, that each desisted from the conflict more

resolute, if possible, in their old opinions; but their descendants of the present age seem to have agreed to hold their principles with a degree of moderation and forbearance new in the history of these contentions. (Works of Arminius; Nicholl's Life of Arminius; Fuller's Church History, &c.)

BAPTISTS; OR ANABAPTISTS; so called (from ἀνὰ again, and βάπτω to wash or plunge) because they again baptize those adults, who, in their infancy, have once received baptism. But they deny the validity of infant baptism (on which account they are also termed, sometimes, Antipædo-Baptists), and, therefore, reject the charge of anabaptism, and consider the word itself reproachful. By the older writers they are occasionally designated cata-baptists; an epithet of nearly similar import. They themselves adopt the name of Baptists.

They differ from other Christian Churches upon two points:—first, as to the mode in which baptism ought to be administered; and secondly, as to the persons who are qualified for the reception of the rite. Of these, however, the second is by far the more important question.

The Baptists, in general, though not universally, maintain that baptism requires the immersion or plunging of the whole body, and that mere sprinkling or the effusion of water is not baptism. The question of immersion depends, to a great extent, upon the meaning of the verbs βάπτω and βαπτίζω, which the translators of our English Bible, in order, perhaps, to avoid the difficulty, naturalize, rather than translate, into the word baptize. That these words often signify plunging or submersion is not questioned, the difficulty is to ascertain whether, in the New Testament, they are used exclusively in this sense. The Baptists answer in the affirmative; they maintain that the Greek word, of which baptism is but the English form, signifies immersion, and that, consequently, the command to baptize can only be fulfilled in this manner. In the critical discussion of the subject, some of their body argue that immersion is not at all a mode of baptism, but rather baptism itself; on the same ground that to represent immersion as a mode of immersion would be a palpable absurdity. In defence of these opinions they argue from philology and criticism, from what they affirm to have been the

uniform practice of the primitive Church, from that of the Greek and Armenian Churches of the present day, from the admissions of bishops Burnet, Jeremy Taylor, and Tillotson, besides Whitby, Doddridge, and others, of modern times; and lastly, from the rubric of the Church of England herself, which requires, in the baptism of adults, that the minister shall "take the person to be baptized by the right hand, and shall dip him in the water or pour water upon hi[illegible] the baptism of infants, the minister is required [illegible] hild into the water discreetly and warily;" only, if [illegible] ertify that the child is weak, it shall suffice "to po[illegible] it." Baptism, as now generally practised by mer[illegible], can scarcely be regarded as a compliance with th[illegible] parent may always demand that his child shall be [illegible] nmersion, and few clergymen, we suppose, would fee[illegible] comply with his request.

With regard to the [illegible] aptism, the question is more difficult and more im[illegible] istendom, in general, maintains that it is the duty of Christian parents to dedicate their children to God, by baptism, in infancy. The Baptists, on the contrary, assert the positive unlawfulness of infant baptism. Believers only, they say, are the proper subjects for this rite. The profession of faith cannot be received from a proxy, it cannot be made by those who are unconscious of what is done on their behalf. The person who comes to be baptized, must, first of all, give satisfactory evidence of repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. And, on these grounds, they deny the validity of infant baptism, whether by sprinkling or submersion. These two questions have long been the subjects of a vast controversy. On the side of the Baptist it may be sufficient to direct the general student to the writings of Andrew Fuller and Robert Hall. On the other side, Dr. Wall's Defence of infant baptism, though written more than a hundred years ago, has left nothing to be said; and, in fact, no work of importance has since been attempted on a subject which he is allowed to have treated with such consummate learning and ability.

At the period of the Reformation, there was no Church in existence which rejected the baptism of infants, or retained any tradition of its unlawfulness. The Anabaptists say that their opinions were entertained by the Lollards in England, and by

the Waldenses of Switzerland, before the Reformation. They first appear in history, however, in Germany, about the year 1520. Their leaders Münzer, Storch, Stubner, and others, were violent and fanatical men, who mingled the wildest enthusiasm with their notions concerning baptism. But it is to be carefully observed that, from their very origin, the anabaptists were subdivided into various sects, which differed from each other as widely as any of their own body differed from the rest of the Reformed Church. Some were sober and orthodox; others Arians or Socinians; others, again, held the wildest notions upon the millennium. Münzer himself was of the latter class: under the delusion that Christ was about to assume the government of the world, he declared war against all laws, governments, and magistrates; and madly attempted to propagate these fanatical doctrines by force of arms. In 1525, he assembled the peasants of Swabia, Saxony, and the neighbouring kingdoms, and headed their crusade, sword in hand. They were soon routed and dispersed; and Münzer was executed with much needless cruelty. But the death of their leader served only to increase the exasperation of the party; they were bitterly persecuted, but this increased their numbers: they collected congregations through the whole of Germany, Switzerland, and Holland. The more violent foretold, in the spirit of prophecy, the approaching abolition of laws and magistrates: some of them were guilty of the most flagitious crimes. The moderate were satisfied with maintaining that the Church of Christ was exempt from all sin, that all things ought to be in common among the faithful; that all usury, tithes, and tribute, ought to be abolished; that the baptism of infants was an invention of the devil; that every Christian was invested with a power of preaching the Gospel; and, consequently, that the Church stood in no need of ministers or pastors; that in the kingdom of Christ civil magistrates were absolutely useless; and that God still continued to reveal his will by dreams and visions.

In the sixteenth century it was universally held, throughout Christendom, that errors in religion were to be punished as crimes against the state. The Anabaptists were the first of Protestant sects to feel that even the reformed Churches could rival the intolerance of Rome. In Saxony penal laws were enacted against them in 1525; at Zurich, in the same year, capital

punishment was decreed against them; in 1527 and 1529 Charles V. issued similar edicts in Germany. Vast numbers perished in the flames or on the scaffold; the innocent and the guilty were involved in the same fate, and amongst the victims there were not a few whose only crime was, that, with the most upright intentions, they had embraced an erroneous tenet. Persecution, which always [illegible]cism desperate, soon produced its legitimate results. [illegible]city of Munster was the scene of strange disorder. [illegible]d, otherwise John of Leyden, was the ringleader of [illegible]admen who persuaded themselves that Munster [illegible] seat of the new Jerusalem, from whence their s[illegible]ion was to extend over the world. They made t[illegible]sters of the city, deposed the magistrates, and con[illegible]ious crimes. Bockhold was proclaimed king of [illegible]rchy: his conduct seems, if fairly represented, to [illegible]husiasm had been succeeded in him by sheer insanity. He ran naked in the streets, married a number of wives at the same time, and styled himself king of Sion. He formed the design of burning the city of Leyden to ashes, and asserted his right, by a divine donation, to the cities of Amsterdam, Wesel, and Deventer. It was not till three years after, in 1536, that Munster was retaken after a tedious siege; John of Leyden was put to an excruciating death, and the Anabaptist government and hierarchy was of course destroyed. Similar scenes, however, took place in Amsterdam (where the city narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Anabaptists by a surprise), in Friesland, Groningen, and other provinces of the Netherlands.

But between these excesses and the doctrines of the Anabaptists, properly so termed, there does not seem to be the slightest connexion. The fanaticism of the early Anabaptists is sufficiently explained by the obvious tendency which exists in human nature to rush into extremes. The iron hold of the papacy, which had cramped the Church for ages, being suddenly relaxed, men had yet to learn what were the true conditions whether of civil or religious liberty. But these considerations were overlooked, and the reformed Churches, with one consent, regarded the Anabaptists with abhorrence and disdain. The correspondence of the reformers, lately published, is full of allusions to the subject. They are seldom spoken of but with the severest reprobation, and

ion is drawn between the sober Christians and the
tics of the party. It is probable, at least, that their
e been exaggerated even by the best writers. A
riter on their own side asserts, that "it has been
irrefragable evidence from state papers, public con-
faith, and authentic books, that the Spanheims,
, Hoffman, and others, have given a fabulous account
rman Baptists; and that the younger Spanheim had
i with holding thirteen heresies, of which not a single
them believed one word; yet later writers quote these
as devoutly as if all they affirmed were allowed to be
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lern continental Anabaptists, repudiating the follies of
egard Menno as the Luther of their church. Like
e reformers, he had been a Romish priest, but in 1536
ed his office and publicly joined the Anabaptists. He
of considerable ability, had a natural and persuasive
and, as even his opponents grant, a meek and tract-
of gentle manners, and of great probity. Under such
he cause of the Anabaptists revived: he spent five-
y years of an active life in travelling about, like Wesley,
mes, to diffuse his principles. From Holland, where
i began, he extended the circuit of his mission, through
to the shores of the Baltic Sea, and the confines of
ncountering frequent persecution, and suffering the
ardships; but at the same time spreading his tenets
erful success. Except on the great question of infant
his doctrines were those of the Reformation; he
gainst the licentious tenets of the Münzer Anabaptists,
y censured their fanaticism. He is said, however, to
the unlawfulness of oaths, and of war, and the doctrine
personal reign on earth for a thousand years; and to
eciated human learning and science. Some foolish
with regard to the immaculate conception were also
on his memory, and were certainly maintained by his

rman Anabaptists first appeared in England early in
of Elizabeth. They were regarded with abhorrence,
d with the utmost severity. In 1575 eleven of them,
ns, were condemned to be burnt: nine of these were

banished, but the dreadful sentence was inflicted on the other two in Smithfield. Foxe, the martyrologist, wrote to the queen, imploring her to have pity on the misguided men, and not to stain the Reformation with blood; but his intercessions failed. In addition to their peculiarities respecting baptism, they taught the community of goods, the unlawfulness of oaths, and of civil government. No doubt [illegible] last dogma which enraged the queen. They seem[illegible]d it as a consequence of the position, that Christia[illegible]ual—a Christian state being a family or brotherhoo[illegible]d not by any means to have meant it as a political [illegible]ng to practical results. The tenet, no doubt, is [illegible]ischievous, but the cruelty of the sentence was [illegible]ring the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles, [illegible]ists in England were a proscribed race; never n[illegible]er by Prelatists or Puritans but in the language of s[illegible]ach, and classed amongst the "Sectaries," to whom the two great parties were equally opposed. Yet they slowly spread themselves, and in 1640, they had seven congregations in London, and about forty more in the country. It is remarkable that up to this period they do not appear to have received any accessions from the higher classes, or amongst educated men. In 1644, Mr. Jessey, rector of St. George's, Southwark, became a convert, and submitted himself to baptism by immersion. Neal, the historian of the Puritans, speaks of him as the father of the English Baptists, and states that he was the pastor of their first congregation; but this is questioned by their own writers. At the Westminster Assembly, convened by the Long Parliament in 1643, with the avowed intention of remodelling the Church of England and establishing the reformed religion upon a new basis, the Anabaptists had no place assigned them; but their tenets were condemned without a hearing. During the few years immediately subsequent, while the Presbyterian party was in power, the Anabaptists were severely harassed. Calamy, in his Lives of the Non-Conformists, mentions an instance in which the dead body of a Baptist minister was carried to its resting-place in a cask of sugar, as Christian burial would not have been allowed by the dominant powers! Indeed, until the Revolution of 1688 the history of the English Baptists is altogether discreditable to their countrymen. Perhaps, however, the same remark would apply to the annals of every

sect and party, except that which chanced to be in power, whether it were a political or a religious one. The asperity of their manners, and the violence with which they treated their opponents, led them to be regarded as a kind of religious outlaws. The celebrated Richard Baxter, who was their unceasing foe, blames them severely for "pride and factiousness;" but still he admits that there were to be found amongst them some exemplary men of sincere piety.

Since the Act of Toleration the Baptists, no longer oppressed, have become an important body. And they now form one of the three great denominations within which the old English nonconformity is comprehended. The Baptists are divided into two great classes, who are called General and Particular Baptists. The distinction has reference to their theological principles, and originated thus. Soon after the Revolution, the principles of the English nonconformists became unsettled on the doctrine of the Trinity, as well as upon the whole Calvinistic system, which had been rigidly embraced by the old Anabaptists. The consequence was a secession of the General or Arminian Baptists from the Particular or Calvinistic Baptists; the former holding, that men in general are the objects of divine mercy, and, at the same time, rejecting, to a great extent, the atonement, together with the deity of Christ; the latter holding particular election and the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity. The schism on both sides produced disastrous consequences. Many of the General Baptists soon verged towards infidelity; the Particular Baptists pushed their Calvinism to its extreme point; so that the biographer of Robert Hall, Dr. Olinthus Gregory, informs us, that towards the close of the last century few Baptist ministers ever thought of addressing sinners from the pulpit; confining their addresses to the elect. About the year 1770, the orthodox portion of the General Baptists seceded from the old body; in doctrine they are Evangelical Arminians; they now out-number the old, or Unitarian, General Baptists. The census of 1851, gives in England and Wales one hundred and eighty-two congregations of the one, and ninety-three of the other. The General Baptists are described by one of themselves, Robinson, of Cambridge, in these terms: "Having no masters and having no notion of a power lodged anywhere, they parted into innumerable societies of different faith and practice. Some are Socinians, others Arians; some

Trinitarians, others Arminians; others Calvinists; others place religion more in virtue than in faith." This was written sixty years ago. The Particular Baptists of the present day are scarcely entitled to be so called in the sense originally designed, since they hold no distinguishing doctrines upon these points, except those which are common to Calvinistic churches. Robert Hall, the writer with [illegible] the public are most familiar, for instance, can sca[illegible]d with systematic Calvinists. He is rather an Eva[illegible]nian; or at least the shades of difference are alm[illegible]le. In their mode of worship they tenaciously adh[illegible]mplicity of the ancient Anabaptists, till within th[illegible]s neither permitting liturgies, nor gowns, nor instr[illegible]ic. Organs have lately been introduced into some [illegible]s, and architectural decoration is no longer discour[illegible]hurch polity of the English Baptists is strictly congreg[illegible] or independent. Each congregation regards itself as a complete Church. "Nothing," says Dr. Cox, "that professes the character of ecclesiastical authority, as councils, or synods, is admitted amongst us." "All Baptists," says Robinson, "reject canon law, and place councils, synods, convocations, kirk sessions, and all such tribunals, along with a history of the inquisition." A Baptist union was formed in England in 1812; it now consists of upwards of a thousand churches, in nominal connexion with each other; but the union is voluntary; the members of it associate upon equal terms for conference and mutual aid, and, except by its own voluntary act, no congregation loses its right of independent action. (See INDEPENDENT.) The Baptists are not a very large community. The Particular Baptists, by far the larger body, have about two thousand chapels in England and Wales. But, with the exception of a few large congregations in our great towns, they are distinguished rather for respectability and zeal than numbers. From the late census, it appears that the accommodation provided in their places of worship is sufficient for five hundred and eighty-three thousand souls. Their chapels are most numerous in the southern counties; but the congregations are small; consisting, for the most part, of the labouring poor, and amoi them, something of that antinomianism lingers which is sai have marked the early Anabaptists. It is in America that cause of the anti-pædo Baptists has won its triumphs. Why a

which has not wanted advocates of a high order of genius, and zeal, should have accomplished so little at home, while done so much abroad, among the same Anglo-Saxon race, ubject which seems to invite consideration, and one, we e, of which no sufficient explanation has been hitherto

general literature of this donomination, says an eminent t, Dr. F. A. Cox, "must be regarded as on the whole hat inferior. The reason of this may be traced to the un- fact, that learning has been generally undervalued. High istic sentiments have been so predominant, that classical ments have been viewed as repugnant to spiritual religion, e ministry itself supposed to be deteriorated rather than be- l by the alliance." But if their early history was clouded aticism and disgraced by ignorance, they have made noble ls during the present century. The English pulpit has ed no preacher superior to Hall; and no moral or politico- us essayist has left a greater impression on the age than r. Robert Hall, himself the son of a Baptist minister, ttle indebted to the advantages of early training, good s, or the still more specious aids of manner, voice, and placed the art of preaching on a height, in England at unknown. Wanting something of their excursive fancy rilliant imagination, he had all the grace and purity, the and the force, of the most accomplished foreign preachers revious age. Every sentence was exquisitely polished, or if e chasteness and simplicity of his manner hid the defect he keenest critic. The hearers seemed to listen, half en- d, to a swelling tide of the noblest thoughts, uttered in the st strains and the most appropriate language. When he ed at Cambridge the wisest and most learned men crowded tle Baptist chapel, while, at the same time, the poor and te heard him with instruction and delight. As an author, less celebrated, he will always stand amongst writers of a though not perhaps of the highest, class. His treatise "On ork of the Spirit," and his sermon "On Modern Infidelity," rely never cease to be read. Nor are his controversial gs less worthy of attention. The tenacity of the Baptists mersion and adult baptism, induces many of their churches ude, even from occasional communion with them in the

Lord's Supper, those whose piety they admit, but who want these qualifications. Others exhibit a more catholic spirit and decline to impose these tests. Thus the Particular Baptists are again divided into the advocates of free and open communion. Hall wrote several treatises against Fuller, Booth, and Kinghorn, in defence of free communion. Apart from the question itself, they are of great value as examples of cogent reasoning, clothed in graceful words; and we must refer the reader who may be desirous to [illegible] object. Forster, as an essayist, seems deficient in the [illegible] which, in general, are necessary to secure the attention. He appears to have written, what the reader at first [illegible] with great difficulty. The style has to be learned before [illegible] follow the author. At length, however, we begin to [illegible] power, and feel the magic of his thoughts. Few read [illegible] always perhaps begin to study the volume without being [illegible] an effort; still fewer have laid it down unfinished, or finally closed it, without regret. Of living writers we do not speak, nor of the periodical literature of the Baptists, though both claim respect. Their missions have long held a distinguished place amongst those benevolent institutions. The Serampore mission, conducted for many years by Carey and Marshman, is renowned for its contributions to oriental literature. In 1842 the Baptist Missionary Society had translated the Scriptures, wholly or in part, into forty-four languages or dialects of India; and printed, of the Scriptures alone in foreign languages, nearly half a million.

The tenets of the Baptists were introduced into America by Roger Williams, the founder of the state of Rhode Island. He was one of the first Puritan settlers of Massachusetts, from whence he was expelled by the Presbyterians on account of his obnoxious principles. He founded the first Baptist Church at Providence in 1639. It was long before his followers made much progress beyond Rhode Island. In the other colonies they were a proscribed people; there, as at home, the discipline of persecution fell heavily upon them. In Massachusetts they were whipped, fined, and imprisoned. In Virginia their ministers often preached through the grated windows of the gaol. When freedom of conscience was allowed they made but few converts for a century. At the commencement of the revolutionary war in 1770 they had but eighteen Churches. From this period their progress has been

one of marvellous success. In 1812 they had, in the United States, two thousand Churches; in 1832 upwards of five thousand; in 1840 seven thousand seven hundred and sixty-six. Above three millions of souls, or about a sixth of the whole population, were in connexion with the regular Baptists. In 1847 they had established missions in every quarter of the globe; besides a home mission, a Bible translation society, several colleges, and other religious institutions. In 1850 the number of congregations was nine thousand three hundred and seventy-five. In the slave-holding States many of the slaves are members of the Church, and not unfrequently the minister himself is a slave-owner.

A general convention of the Baptist Churches meets every three years. It held its first meeting in 1814; but it is restricted by its constitution to matters connected with foreign missions. There are also Baptist conventions in some of the States. That of the State of New Hampshire recently adopted a form of Church government and a declaration of faith. But like the "Unions" in England it possesses no authority, and can only recommend the adoption of its resolutions to its own constituents. The American Baptist form of Church government is purely congregational.

Both in England and America there are several small sects of Baptists, seceders from the larger communities. The chief of these are—

1. The Seventh-day Baptists, who differ from the orthodox Baptists only in observing the seventh and not the first day of the week. In England they have but two chapels; in America about fifty, with a population of nearly 30,000 beneath instruction.

2. The Scotch Baptists, who originated in 1765. Their doctrinal views are those of the Particular Baptists, from whom they differ in a more strict observance of what they consider apostolic usages, such as agapæ, or love-feasts, a plurality of pastors, washing each other's feet, and great plainness of attire. In England they have but fifteen congregations; nor are they numerous in Scotland. In America, a Scotch Baptist communion was formed in 1812, by Mr. Campbell, whose name they sometimes bear; they do not, however, belong to the same body. They profess to reject all creeds and confessions of faith, and hold "that everyone who believes what the evangelists and

apostles have testified concerning Jesus of Nazareth, is a proper subject for immersion." They are stated to number 200,000.

3. The Free-will Baptists, who date their rise from New Hampshire, America, in 1780. They appear to differ from the evangelical section of the General Baptists in England only upon certain points of Church government. Like that of all the Baptists, their govern[illegible]t is vested primarily in each congregation. These send d[illegible] quarterly meetings, these to yearly meetings, and[illegible]n, to a general conference. Their ministers are e[illegible]acons; the former being ordained jointly by th[illegible] which they belong and the quarterly meeting ac[illegible]ouncil. There is an annual conference, which assi[illegible]l one, and these regulate the affairs of the ministr[illegible]r ecclesiastical polity is peculiar, resembling that [illegible]nore nearly than Congregationalism.

The following account of a religious service, attended and conducted entirely by negroes, will be read with interest. It is extracted from Sir Charles Lyell's "Second Visit to the United States," 1849:—"I attended afternoon service in a Baptist church at Savannah, in which I found that I was the only white man, the congregation consisting of about six hundred negroes, of various shades, most of them very dark. As soon as I entered I was shown to a seat reserved for strangers, near the preacher. First the congregation all joined, both men and women, very harmoniously, in a hymn, most of them having evidently good ears for music, and good voices. The singing was followed by prayers, not read, but delivered without notes, by an African of pure blood,—a grey-headed, venerable-looking man, with a fine sonorous voice. He, as I learnt afterwards, has the reputation of being one of their best preachers; and he concluded with a sermon, almost without notes, in good style, and for the most part in good English, so much so as to make me doubt whether a few ungrammatical phrases in the negro idiom, might not have been purposely introduced for the sake of bringing the subject home to their familiar thoughts.

"Nothing in my whole travels gave me a higher idea of the capabilities of the negroes and the actual progress which they have made, even in a part of a slave State where they outnumber the whites, than this Baptist meeting. To see a body, of African

rigin, who had joined one of the denominations of Christians, nd built a church for themselves, who had elected a pastor of heir own race, and secured him an annual salary, from whom hey were listening to a good sermon, scarcely, if at all, below he average standard of the composition of white ministers,—to hear the whole service respectably, and the singing admirably, performed, surely marks an astonishing step in civilization."

From the seventh census of the United States, it appears that in 1850 there were in the Union 8,791 churches; affording accommodation for 3,130,000; and possessing Church property to the amount of about 11,000,000 dollars.

BEHMENITES.—These were a religious sect that flourished in the seventeenth century; their founder was Jacob Behmen, or Böhm, of Görlitz, in Germany. Except his own followers, theologians of every class have, till very lately, agreed to speak with great contempt of Behmen and his doctrines. He was a mystic, and his writings are obscure, and often to a cursory reader, perfectly unintelligible; but there is at present, amongst metaphysical writers of the highest class, a disposition to treat Behmen with more respect. The author of the very able article on Metaphysics, in the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana," even assigns him a place beside Descartes, as one of the great precursors of the modern system of philosophy, and attributes his obscurity to Behmen's want of acquaintance with the language of philosophy rather than to any confusion of thought, or the incoherence that arises from an imperfect apprehension in the writer's mind of that which he undertakes to explain to others. We are disposed to take this view of the subject, only we would add, that it seems to us that Behmen, no less than the illustrious Descartes, mistook, to a great extent, the nature of true philosophy, both with regard to its *methods* and its *objects*. It is not denied that he was a man of piety, integrity, and virtue; or that amongst his followers were numbered some wise and eminent men, of his own countrymen, whose conduct was blameless; but others are said to have acted like delirious fanatics; and two of these were burnt at Moscow, in 1684, for their heresy.

Behmen was termed by his admirers the German Theosophist. He speculated much on the Divine nature, and upon the method

in which spirits commune with one another, and God with man. His followers became mystical, and were, in the true sense of the term, enthusiasts. They described their inward feelings in unintelligible terms, and professed to hold sensible communion with invisible spirits; but, beyond this, we do not learn that their doctrines were immoral. Their opponents blame their understandings rather than their lives. Mosheim writes thus:—"Never did there reign such obscurity and confusion in the writings of any mortal as in the miserable productions of Jacob Behmen, which exhibit a strange mixture of chemical terms, crude visions, and mystical jargon. Among other dreams of a disturbed and eccentric fancy, he entertained the following chimerical notion, 'That the Divine Grace operates by the same rules, and follows the same methods, which the Divine Providence observes in the government of the world; and that the minds of men are purged from their vices and corruptions in the same way that metals are purified from their dross;' and this maxim was the principle of his fire theology." The truth is, that he traces out a parallelism between the visible and the spiritual world; and illustrates God's doings in the latter from his known conduct in the former.

During the Commonwealth in England, the Behmenites appeared in great numbers, much to the annoyance of the Puritan clergy. Richard Baxter describes them, in his Autobiography, as men of greater meekness and more self-control than any of the other sectaries. Their doctrine, he says, is to be seen "in Jacob Behmen's books, by him that hath nothing else to do than to bestow a great deal of time to understand him that was not willing to be easily understood, and to know that his bombastic words do signify nothing more than before was easily known by common familiar terms." Some of the party were, however, men of education; a Doctor Pordage and his family are mentioned by Baxter as pretending to hold visible and sensible communion with angels; whom they professed sometimes to see, and sometimes to discover by the sense of smell. He believed that his house was also molested by evil spirits, one of which assumed the shape of a fiery dragon. He was formally accused before the "Committee for the trial of Scandalous Ministers" for these and similar absurdities; he also denied the doctrine of Christ's imputed righteousness, dissuaded from marriage, and

taught and practised a community of goods. The Behmenites of that day professed to be waiting for the descent of the Holy Spirit upon them, in order to go forth as missionaries to reconcile and heal all Christian Churches. They believed that the highest spiritual state consisted in communion with angels, or rather, perhaps, was rewarded with such visions. They were not fond of disputation, for they held that spiritual things were known by a higher light than reason, by intuition, or the extraordinary irradiation of the mind.

Behmenism may be considered as extinct. It disappeared as religion and philosophy were better understood; the former content to base all she knew upon the written Scriptures, the latter satisfied to proceed no longer upon theory, but by the safer and simpler processes of induction. Yet Sir Isaac Newton is said to have been a reader of the works of Behmen. Amongst his papers autograph extracts from Behmen's works are said to have been found; and he is even conjectured to have derived some important principles from his acquaintance with the German mystic. His works were translated into English, not, however, for the first time, by the celebrated William Law, of Oxford, in 1764. Law himself has been placed at the head of the English school of mystical divines: his style, however, of writing is pure and lucid, and it is the more singular that he should have taken pleasure in deciphering the works of Behmen. Baron Swedenborg appears to have adopted many of his mystical notions, and they still exist among those communities of which he was the founder—the Swedenborgian, or New Jerusalem, churches of our own times. It was no part of Behmen's intention to be the founder of a sect, but rather to instruct sincere Christians in what he conceived to be the mysteries of the true faith; and he himself lived and died a member of the Lutheran Church. His death occurred in 1624.

BRETHREN; generally termed PLYMOUTH BRETHREN, from having first appeared, about the year 1830, in the town of Plymouth. By the census of 1850 it appears that they returned 132 places of worship in England and Wales; of these, many are rooms in private houses; and the influence which the Plymouth Brethren undoubtedly possess upon English Chris-

tianity is to be ascribed rather to their position in society, their zeal and earnestness, than to their numbers. Still, their principles are adopted by a considerable body of our countrymen in India and the colonies, and we believe they have made some progress in America.

There is some difficulty in laying before the reader in a simple form the principles of this body. It puts forth no standards of faith, nor publishes a worship or discipline. It professes to practise C Christianity was taught by our Lord and the apo New Testament. It regards all Churches as either c actice, or partial and exclusive. The tracts, which l in great numbers by the "Brethren," are either cal nature, or they consist, mainly, of attacks upon ion and Church government of other bodies; and w great measure, left to infer their own principles b those points which they condemn in all existing Churches. This results, in some degree, from the necessity of the case. Professing neither to teach nor practise anything but the religion of the Gospel in its primitive simplicity and purity, their aim is, naturally, to show that other Christians are more or less in error, trusting chiefly for the defence of their own peculiarities to the letter of the New Testament. "The main peculiarity," they say, "which marks the position of those called 'Brethren,' is, that they desire to stand together in heart and in action upon God's ground for the union of His people; and, consequently, in separation from all that, to their consciences, takes away this ground." ("The Brethren," by J. K.)

The Brethren equally object to the national Church and to all forms of dissent. Of national Churches, one and all of them, they say, "that the opening of the door to receive into the most solemn acts of worship and Christian fellowship the whole population of a country, is a latitudinarian error." Dissenters, on the other hand, "are sectarians, because they close the door on real Christians who cannot utter the Shibboleth of the party." In a word, the characteristic evil of the latter is, "that they do not treat as Christians many who are known to be such, where the equally characteristic evil of the former is, that they do tre as Christians many who are known not to be such at all." Th one system, they affirm, makes the Church wider, the oth

narrower than God's limits; thus, in either way, the proper scriptural idea of the Church is practically destroyed: dissent virtually affirming that it is not one body, but many, while nationalism virtually denies that this one body is the body of Christ.

That which constitutes a Church is the presence of the Holy Spirit. "It is the owning of the Holy Ghost as Christ's vicar—the really present, sole, and sufficient sovereign in the Church during our Lord's absence—which is the leading feature in the testimony of 'Brethren.'" From this position they draw two inferences: first, that it is not by baptism, whether infant or adult, nor by the reception of any creed, but by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, that any man becomes a member of the Christian Church, and, possessing this, he is a member of the universal Church, not merely of any particular section of it; and he is entitled to all the privileges of communion with the Church Catholic throughout the world. Beyond this, all tests are sectarian, and ruinous to the Churches which impose them, though the Brethren do not deny that inasmuch as they contain amongst them those who are led by the Spirit of God, they may, in a certain sense, be Churches still. Secondly, that "the government of the Church is, if one may be permitted the phrase, the monarchy of the Holy Ghost." He abides within his Church and governs it. All ecclesiastical appointments are made by Him. It is no humanly-divided caste, the Brethren contend, whom He employs to be the narrow and exclusive channel of His blessings, or else he would vacate His own sovereignty. "It is not, therefore, the pleasure of a preacher, nor of a synod of preachers, nor of a congregation, nor of a sect, nor of the Church itself, much less of any worldly power which ordains a minister. It is the Spirit of God, dividing to every man severally as He will."

These propositions contain the basis upon which the Brethren act. Scripture, they say, never prescribes a human commission as necessary for the Christian minister. Doctrine, not ordination, is the divine test of rejecting or receiving those who profess to be ministers of Christ; and every Christian man who can do so is not only at liberty, but is bound to preach the Gospel. The parable of the talents, in Matthew xxv., teaches the danger of waiting for other warrant than the possession of the necessary gift; "and to doubt the grace of the master, or to fear because

one has not the authentication of those who presumptuously claim, and trifle with, this right, is to bury his talent in the earth, and to act the part of the wicked and slothful servant." For the Lord of the harvest alone has the title to send forth labourers. In a word, say they, the question is not whether all Christians are qualified of God to preach the Gospel, but whether those who a d may not preach without waiting for any hum ve call; and Scripture, as they affirm, decides th Thus, too, they argue as to the ground of Church . The distinction of people and clergy they hold ally a Jewish element, which afterwards crept into ed the Church. The Christian people are the cl gifts of the Spirit are for the whole body of Christ, em for a particular section, but all open to the v and the whole Church open to all." It is not easy some of these propositions with the historical facts of the New Testament; particularly with the ordaining of elders in every city mentioned by St. Paul to Titus. And it is curious and instructive to remark how closely extreme opinions approximate. The Brethren escape the difficulty by throwing themselves upon this dilemma:—"If any one could give satisfactory proof that he was an apostolic delegate, his appointments of elders ought to be respected; if such proof be wanting they ought to be disowned. Apostolic succession seems the only consistent plea in its pretensions as to this." ("The Brethren," by W. K.) So that the validity of orders in the Christian Church hangs on the question of the apostolic succession after all, by the admission of the Brethren.

These principles have exposed the Plymouth Brethren to frequent censure. The present bishop of Calcutta has made their opinions the subject of refutation in one of his charges. Dr. Octavius Winslow, in a recent publication, "The Silver Trumpet," has the following remarks:—"It will not suffice to meet the designs of Christ in the formation of Christian Churches that there are 'gatherings' of the saints in small parties, in obscure places, and in irresponsible forms—without a pastor—without an overseer—without officers—without gospel order—without holy discipline—without a proper, authorised, and constant oversight. Such collections of believers, as substitutes for distinct gospel Churches, however spiritual and edifying the

of their meeting together may be supposed, are contrary
e Scriptures of truth, are opposed to the New-Testament
of Christian Churches, and tend to throw contempt upon
ord of God, to shade the light, and impair the holy influ-
of Christians."

these charges they, of course, object; and the whole ques-
nce more resolves itself into this simple form—What is the
itution of a Christian Church? We have only to add that
octrines held by the Plymouth Brethren agree in all essen-
with the Church of England and other Churches of the
mation. Their worship is conducted in the simplest manner.
nstances apart, any brother is competent to baptize or to
k bread;" that is, administer the Lord's Supper. They
however, that all Christians are ministers of the word, or
hey undervalue a Christian ministry. W. K., in answer to
Vinslow, says, "So far from supposing there is no such thing
nistry, Brethren hold, and have always held, from Eph. iv.
, that Christ cannot fail to maintain and perpetuate a
ry as long as his body is here below. Their printed books
acts, their teachings in private and in public, affirm this as
ain, settled truth; insomuch that it is as absurd to charge
with denying the permanent and Divine place of ministry
e Church on earth, as it would be to charge Charles the
with denying the Divine right of kings. Wherever it has
d God to raise up pastors after his own heart, they gladly,
fully own his grace, and esteem them very highly in love
eir works' sake." We infer, that a minister is received as
when the brethren are satisfied of his fitness for the office;
hat he then obtains no other distinction or authority than
of a teacher or exhorter. Not claiming to be a Church,
indeed, rejecting the imputation, as they do with consider-
warmth, they have no ecclesiastical officers. They live in
tive simplicity; and reject as unbecoming the luxuries of
and furniture. It has been recently said that they neither
for the pardon of sin, nor for the presence and influence of
pirit, and carefully exclude such petitions from their hymns;
his statement, which we transcribe from a recent account of
istian Sects in the Nineteenth Century," is extremely
t. It is only true so far as this: the Brethren, regarding
selves as, in theological language, in a state of grace, do not

ask for blessings they have already received, but rather for an increase of the gifts of which they have already partaken. In this sense the charge is equally true of all earnest Christians, and, we may add, of all Christian Churches. The Plymouth Brethren in general accept that interpretation of prophecy which teaches us to look for the personal coming of our Lord, and his reign upon earth du[illegible]nium. But these opinions are not peculiar to them, [illegible] a test of fellowship.

BRETHREN OF T[illegible]RIT; also called Beghards and Beguins. All [illegible] of this sect has come down to us through the repre[illegible] their enemies, the ecclesiastical writers of the Romis[illegible] ought, therefore, to be received with caution. The[illegible] the first dawn of the Reformation, early in the t[illegible]tury, in France and Germany, and were probably connected with the Albigenses. Roman Catholic historians describe them as the worst of heretics; and Protestants, without sufficient consideration, have confirmed the charge. Mosheim in particular (from whom, until very lately, almost all our acquaintance with the ecclesiastical history of the middle ages has been sought, for almost a century) speaks of them with abhorrence; and yet he is obliged to confess that there were among them men of exemplary piety, distinguished by the gravity and austerity of their lives and manners, who suffered death, in the most dreadful forms, with the utmost resolution and constancy. It is certain that they resisted the pope's authority, and denied the peculiar doctrines of the Church of Rome. They were severely handled by the Inquisition; and their examinations, as taken down and published by the inquisitors, are not to be regarded as a fair exposition of their tenets. Three heavy charges are brought against them: mysticism, antinomianism, and sensuality. We are disposed to think that of these indictments the first was true, the second questionable, and the third undoubtedly false. Their mystical doctrines were, in fact, little more than a revival of those ancient heresies, or rather follies, of the early Church, when men attempted to engr[illegible] Platonism upon Christianity. They are said to have held t[illegible] all things flowed by emanation from God, and were finally return to their Divine source; that rational souls were so ma[illegible]

portions of the Supreme Deity, and that the universe, considered as one great whole, was God; that every man, by the power of contemplation, and by calling off his mind from sensible and terrestrial objects, might be united to the Deity in an inexplicable manner, and become one with the Source and Parent of all things; and that they who, by long and assiduous meditation, had plunged themselves, as it were, into the abyss of the Divinity, acquired a glorious and sublime liberty, and were delivered, not only from the violence of sinful lusts, but even from the common instincts of nature. Similar notions have been entertained in almost every age by men who have suddenly woke up to a consciousness of the reality and importance of spiritual things, and aimed at high attainments in religion, while they disclaimed or overlooked the *practical* instructions of the New Testament. It was, in fact, a revival of the ancient Gnosticism: "Man," said they, "is only a passive instrument in the hands of the Divinity. Science comes solely from this source; and reason should detach itself, not only from the influence of the senses, but even from itself. The ascetic, or he who elevates himself to God, alone possesses true knowledge. All is then pure ecstacy." Some of the fathers wrote in the same strain; and it is curious to observe the reappearance of this mysticism amongst illiterate Germans in the dark ages. Like all mystical writers, they were often, and sometimes no doubt wilfully, misunderstood; and the worst construction was put upon each ambiguous proposition. Amalric, professor of logic and theology at Paris (whose bones were dug up and burnt in 1209), is considered as one of the founders of the sect. He is charged with having taught that the universe was God; and that not only the forms or essences of all things, but their material substances, proceed from the Deity, and are again absorbed into the Source from whence they came. He was charged with reviving the heresy of Alexander the Epicurean; but it has been suggested by the Abbé Henry and others, that the errors of Amalric were of a very different kind, such, indeed, as are altogether inconsistent with these opinions. He taught, says the abbé, "that every Christian was obliged to believe himself a member of Jesus Christ; and that without this belief none could be saved." The learned Spanheim imagines that various absurd opinions were falsely imputed to him in order to render his memory odious, because he had opposed the worship

of saints and images. David of Dinant, another Parisian professor, expressed, it is said, the fundamental proposition of his master, Amalric, in these terms: "God is the primary matter or substance of all things;" for which he was charged with heresy, and fled from France in order to escape the death of a heretic. The bishops assembled in council at Paris, and condemned the works of Aristotle, w garded as the source of these impious tenets—tene. ld probably have been considered harmless had associated, in those who held them, with views of rine, on certain other points, at variance with those

The charge of ant ust be proved, if at all, by attending to the *sen* often extravagant, assertions, rather than the *soun* rines were set forth in a treatise De novem Rupib Rocks, signifying the different steps or gradations b ascends to God. A great part of it seems to have been purely unintelligible. Its statements with respect to morals were such as these:—"If it be the will of God that I should commit sin, my will must be the same, and I must not even desire to abstain from sin. This is true contrition. And although a man, who is united to God, may have committed a thousand mortal sins, he ought not to wish that he had not committed them: he should even be ready to die a thousand deaths rather than omit any one of these mortal sins." Perhaps the meaning of this bombast was nothing more than that man's will ought, in everything, to resolve itself into the will of God. The notion that, God being the author of sin, it became no longer sin, has, however, found its advocates, in later times, even within the Church of England, and is antinomianism of the worst kind. The inquisition proceeded against the Brethren of the Free Spirit upon these grounds, and charged them with teaching "that the sin of man is not sin if he be a child of God, because God works in him, and with him, whatever he does." (Mosheim, note, p. 255, vol. iii.) It seems probable, on the whole, that they misunderstood the meaning St. Paul—Romans viii. 2-14—and inferred that a Christian w "free from the law," in a sense never contemplated by th apostle.

The morals of the Brethren of the Free Spirit have bee bitterly assailed. They are said to have treated with contem

the ordinances of religion, looking upon fasting, prayer, baptism, and the Lord's Supper, as of use only to those whose piety was in its elementary state, and of no value to the perfect man, whom long meditation had raised above all external things, and carried into the essence of the Deity. Beyond this they are charged with the wildest fanaticism—going from place to place with an air of lunacy and distraction; refusing to labour, as an obstacle to divine contemplation; begging their bread with wild shouts and clamours. They were accompanied by women, called sisters, [hence they were styled in Germany Schwestriones,] with whom they are said to have lived in intimate familiarity. They maintained, that by continual contemplation, it was possible to eradicate all the instincts of nature, and regarded modesty as the token of inward corruption. It is said that they held their meetings in a state of nudity, considering as at a fatal distance from the Deity all who felt the carnal suggestions of nature. How far these accusations were true, in any sense, it is perhaps impossible to determine. We receive them at the hands of their enemies, who, having exhausted all the horrors of the inquisition upon them, and extirpated them from the face of the earth, may not uncharitably be supposed to have had some interest in depicting their excesses and errors in dark colours. The early history of the Quakers is disfigured by extravagances very similar to those which are ascribed to the Brethren of the Free Spirit; yet we know that in their case licentiousness was abhorred. The inquisitors acknowledge that the Beghards, though destitute, as they affirm, of shame, were not in general chargeable with a breach of chastity; and they confess with wonder their patience in suffering, and their constancy beneath the most frightful torture, and in the presence of death itself. It is not to be questioned that great numbers of them were men of sincere piety. These held the liberty of the Spirit, upon the whole, in the scriptural sense, as a release from the law as a means of justification before God, not as an exemption from it as a rule of life; but they held themselves exempt from the duties of external worship, and from the laws of the Church; placing the whole of religion in internal devotion. Monastic institutions, then had in profound respect, they treated with contempt. About the middle of the thirteenth century, they persuaded a considerable number of monks in Suabia "to live

without any rule, and to serve God in the liberty of the Spirit, as the most accceptable service that could be offered to God." It seems highly probable to us that the injunction to live without any rule, had reference chiefly, if not entirely, to the monastic vow. The inquisitors placed another interpretation upon it, and condemned the Beghards and their converts to the flames for heresy. Th[illegible]e testimony of their judges, with triumphant feeli[illegible]d exultation. The sect disappears towards the [illegible] thirteenth century under dreadful persecution; [illegible]enthusiasts of the party died off, and the devout m[illegible]scaped the inquisition, joined the Albigenses, and d[illegible]ength with them.

BRETHREN, UNI[illegible]or MORAVIANS.—An ancient episcopal Church, [illegible]ned in Bohemia and Moravia about the middle of the fifteenth century, and traces up its origin through the Waldenses to the time of the apostles, without connexion with the Church of Rome. The romantic history of this Church, the touching simplicity of its character, and the extraordinary zeal and wonderful success of its missions amongst the heathen; and, we may add, its cordial recognition in times past by the Church of England as a sister Church, entitle it to something more than a brief mention in these pages.

The Waldenses dated their origin from the age of the apostles (see ALBIGENSES and WALDENSES), asserting that they derived episcopacy from them, in an uninterrupted succession, through the Paulicians in the East. One of their own body, Reinerius Sacho, apostatized, and rose to the dignity of an inquisitor in the Church of Rome. He became a relentless enemy, but his charges against the Waldenses rest entirely on their schism. He admits the orthodoxy of their creed and the purity of their lives. "Among all sects or religious parties, separated from the Romish Church," says this inquisitor, "there is not one more dangerous than the Leonists or Waldenses, for the following reasons: first, because this sect is older than any other. It existed, according to some, in the days of Pope Sylvester, in the fourth centu and, according to others, even in the days of the apostl Secondly, because it is widely spread; for there is scarcely country into which it has not found its way. Thirdly, becau

le other sects create disgust by their blasphemous doctrines, has a great appearance of piety, as its members lead a iteous life before men, believe the truths concerning God and ne things, and retain all the articles of the apostolic faith, hating the Romish Church and clergy." Waldo, from whom Waldenses are said to have received their modern appella-, driven from Lyons by persecution, took refuge in Bohemia, ere he laboured for twenty years with great success, and died .179. His followers in Bohemia and Passau are said, in 1315, ave amounted to eighty thousand; and, a few years after-ds, their numbers in Europe were computed at eight hundred usand. Bohemia and Moravia continued in heathenism as as the ninth century, when they received the Gospel from rillus and Methodius, two missionaries of the Eastern Church, f the Paulicians, about A.D. 860. But the emperor Otho the st having conquered the independence of the nation, and led Bohemia to the western empire, the Roman pontiffs ex-d all their influence to alienate the Slavonians from the ek Church, and subject them to the papal see. A struggle commenced which continued above a hundred years, when Bohemian and Moravian confessors still continued firm, pro-ting against the Church of Rome, and suffering, from time to e, the severest persecution. During another century they l retained their independence, although, according to their n historians, they gradually lost much, both in purity of doc-e and simplicity of worship. The Waldenses now made their t appearance in Bohemia, and soon afterwards was formed an imate union between the Bohemians and Moravians of the eek ritual and themselves. Sheltered by their poverty and remoteness of their home, the united Moravian, Bohemian, l Waldensian Church now enjoyed repose for about two cen-ies. At length the Reformation dawned, and the court of me, irritated by their zeal and offended by their practices, olved upon the total subjugation of the Bohemian and Mora-n Churches. Celibacy was enjoined, the cup forbidden to the ty, and the Latin language introduced in the performance of blic worship. Great numbers perished, with the usual cruel-s, by the scaffold or the stake. At length, John Huss was nt at Constance in 1415, and the next year Jerome of Prague ared the same fate. They were the two leaders of the Bohe-

mian party. The Council of Constance followed; it was dissolved without any attempt at conciliation; and two years after, the pope, Martin V. published an edict, charging the Hussites with "the most damnable heresies," and invoking all civil powers "by the wounds of Jesus and for their own salvation" to assist in their extirpation. The Bohemians rose in arms under their renowned leader Zisca. A war began which was carried on for thirteen years. The Bohemians was aroused by the cold-blooded cru ; it was a war of extermination on both sides. Z the war was raging, in 1424, and the want of his as instantly felt in his own party. The Hussites d divided, and formed two parties; the *Calixtin* a cup), consisting of men of rank and learning, wc content with the restitution of the cup to the lai ion to hear and read God's word, and the enforc ter discipline. The *Taborites* went much further: they contended for the abolition of all popish errors and ceremonies, and for a pure and scriptural Church. Their name was derived from a hill, which had been fortified by Zisca, where they performed divine worship. Tabor, it is said, signifying in the old language of the country a fortified hill. A conference or council was held at Basle in 1431, to which both the Hussite parties were invited. The Calixtines were received back into the Church of Rome, and four articles were agreed upon, called the compact, which, however, were soon afterwards annulled by the pope. It conceded the free preaching of the word of God, but neutralized the concession with a clause which made the sanction of the spiritual authorities, and the pope himself if appealed to, necessary; it left the property of the Church to the management of the clergy; and this, said the Calixtines, afterwards, was the only article which was faithfully complied with. The use of the cup was granted to the Bohemians, but upon the express condition that the people should be distinctly taught, that Christ existed entire in each of the elements. The Taborites of course disdained these delusive concessions; and the policy of the Church of Rome now was to diffuse discord between the two parties, in which it was but too successful. Rokyzan, the head of the Calixtines, and soon afterwards chosen archbishop of Prague by the states of the empire prevailed upon his party to take up arms against their brethren.

The Taborites were completely defeated, and Procopius their leader fell in battle. They retired to Mount Tabor, where the emperor permitted them to settle, and follow their own religious opinions. Rokyzan himself impressed, it is said, with the truth of the evangelical doctrines of Huss, was soon afterwards convinced of the hollowness of the compact, and irritated against Rome by the pope's refusal to confirm his election, unless he would consent to give up the Bohemian compact altogether, as well as the use of the cup to the laity. He now seemed anxious to promote a further reformation: by his exertions at the diet, in 1450, he prevailed on the different states of Poland to send a deputation to Constantinople and solicit a reunion with the Greek Church; but within three years the Turks had taken Constantinople, and his scheme failed. However, he obtained permission for the Taborites, from the reigning sovereign, to retire to the lordship of Lititz, on the confines of Moravia and Silesia, and there to establish a colony and regulate their own worship and discipline. This first migration was in 1451. In 1453 many citizens of Prague, some of the nobility, and several learned men from Bohemia and Moravia, joined them. Their numbers increased rapidly. There were amongst them several ministers of the Calixtine party, and warm discussions took place as to the doctrines they should profess. At last, in 1457, a conference was held, at which the more pious Calixtines were present, and certain constitutions were agreed upon as the basis of their union. They now assumed the designation of Fratres legis Christi, or brethren of the law of Christ; but as this seemed to convey the idea of a new monastic order, they laid it aside and adopted the name which they still retain, Unitas fratrum, or the United Brethren.

Three years of peace followed. But the missionary character, by which the Moravians have always been distinguished, immediately displayed itself. They made many converts, and even formed different congregations, in various parts of the country. The Calixtines, now united with the Romish party, resolved on their destruction. They were denounced as incorrigible heretics, accused of sedition, and cited before the Consistory of Prague. The unprincipled Rokyzan, afraid of losing his own dignity in the Church, withdrew his patronage and joined their persecutors; and the reigning sovereign, George Podiebrad, refused them his protection, having solemnly sworn on his accession to extirpate



all heretics. A bitter persecution broke in all its fury on the helpless Brethren. All the prisons in Bohemia, especially in Prague, were crowded with them; they were declared to have forfeited their civil rights; their property was confiscated; and they were driven, in the depth of winter, from their homes in Lititz, and other towns and villages where they had gained a settlement. Many had their hands and feet cut off, others were quartered or burned alive; and many died in prison. These outrages continued with little abatement till the death of the king in 1471. Rokyzan died a few days before him; it is said in despair, and the agonies of remorse.

During this period, the Brethren had employed themselves, not only in comforting each other, but, singular as it may seem, in perfecting the constitution of a Church. They even ventured to hold a synod in a private house; though living, for the most part, in forests and under the shelter of rocks, only kindling their fires at night. They say that seventy persons were present, including several noblemen, scholars, and citizens, besides their clergy, and the poorer peasants. At this synod, which was convened in the village of Lhota, in 1467, two resolutions were adopted which marked the future character of the infant Church. In the first place it was necessary to provide fit men for the ministerial office. After much deliberation, with prayer and fasting, it was determined to choose their future ministers by lot. Their method of proceeding deserves to be recorded, and we shall give it in the words of a Moravian minister. "With the example of the election of the apostle Matthias before them, who was appointed by lot, they conceived they were not acting contrary to Scripture by adopting the same mode; and they reposed implicit confidence in the Lord, who alone hath the disposal of the lot, that in a case of such emergency as the present, which involved such important consequences to their whole Church, he would counsel them according to his will. They first nominated twenty men, from among whom nine were chosen, being in their opinion duly qualified for the office of the ministry. Of this number they determined that three should be appointed by lot for the ministerial office. They prepared twelve slips of paper; on three they wrote *est*, this is the man, and left the others blank; all the twelve slips of paper were then rolled up, put into a small vase and mixed together. After this they repeated

their supplications to the Lord, entreating Him to so overrule their present proceedings that the affirmative lot might be opened by such only of the nine men previously nominated, as He himself designed to appoint to the ministry; or, if none of the present candidates were approved of by *Him*, he would cause each of them to receive a blank or negative lot. On opening the papers it was found that the three inscribed with *est* had been received by Matthias of Kunewalde, Thomas of Preschelauz, and Elias of Kreschenow. The whole assembly now joined in a solemn act of thanksgiving, joyfully receiving these three men as pastors and teachers, and promising them obedience. The ceremony was closed with the administration of the Lord's Supper." (*Holmes's History of the United Brethren*, vol. i. p. 51.) The Church of the Brethren still adhere to the decision by lot. Their most important determinations are taken in this manner, and they are, we believe, the only Church, or religious community, that does so. It is, however, a fundamental principle in their constitution, that the lot ought not to be used in any of the following cases:—1. When the subject is clearly decided in Holy Writ. 2. When the will of God is distinctly marked out by Divine Providence. 3. When the point in question is already determined by a fixed rule in the Church. Its use therefore is restricted to those cases on which no decisive judgment can be formed by any of these rules. Instances of this kind are constantly recurring in its government; such as the appointment of bishops, the choice of new settlements, or the establishment of new missions. The right of using the lot, again, is limited to those who bear office in the Church; no bishop or minister may use it privately; and before any question is submitted to its decision the arguments on both sides must be fully discussed, and the members of the conference must, all of them, agree on the propriety of using it, and of acting in strict conformity to its decision. But it is never to be placed in opposition to the conscientious conviction of an individual to the contrary. If, for instance, a person be appointed to an office by lot, it is still left to his own judgment whether to accept or decline the appointment. The lot is not absolute; it determines only that the vacant office shall, in the first instance, be offered to such an one rather than another. And it is further to be remembered that the Brethren do not attach any infallibility to its use; nor

do they consider it essential to the government of the Christian Church at large; nor indispensable even in their own; yet, they say, it is a fact well known to all who are conversant with their history that failures in their plans of operation have been less frequent since this mode of decision has been systematically adopted, than when the decision was taken by a majority of votes. The Brethren never use it except as a religious act. (See *Loretz*, in his *Ratio* [illegible] *uitatis Fratrum*.)

The second point d[illegible] Synod of Lhota was that of episcopal orders. Th[illegible] had been chosen by lot; should they be ordа[illegible] They had already received orders from the Calix[illegible]s presbyters. Could they in this capacity ordain o[illegible]vide for a succession in the Church? In short, w[illegible]opt the presbyterian or episcopal forms of goverп[illegible]ndred years afterwards, the same difficulties beset[illegible]s of the Reformation; and, with the exception of the Church of England, they made their decision in favour of a presbyterian discipline. The Moravians determined, in the first place, that presbyterian ordination would not have been inconsistent with apostolic practice, as recorded in the New Testament; nor with the usage of the primitive Church as proved from the writings of the early fathers. But for many ages no ordinances had been deemed valid, or had indeed been practised, except episcopal. They foresaw that their ministry would be discredited unless it were placed on the same footing as that of other Churches; and they highly reverenced the episcopal office, in spite of all the corruptions with which they had seen it associated. They resolved upon episcopacy; and now another difficulty presented itself. Where could they look for episcopal ordination? There could, in effect, be but one opinion on the subject. The great communions of the East and West, the Greek and Roman Churches, considered them heretics. The Waldenses, their ancient friends, might possibly again befriend them; and they traced the succession of their own bishops from the times of the apostles. They dwelt in considerable numbers in Austria, where they had several Churches, under Stephen the Waldensian bishop. To him then three presbyters were sen[illegible] They informed him of the object of their visit, related the transactions of the synod, and described the unity of the Brethren. He received them with the most cordial joy, and in

irn related the leading events in the history of the Waldenses, ined their constitution, and especially the succession of their ops. Assisted by another bishop, he then ordained the three yters, bishops of the Brethren's Church. Melchior Brada- is the only one whose name has been handed down to us. he other two, one had previously exercised his ministry ig the Waldenses, and the other in the Romish Church.

nother synod was immediately convened, when the newly crated bishops ordained the three persons who had been dy designated by lot, presbyters of the Brethren's Church. of them, before the close of the synod, was consecrated op. Ten co-bishops were soon afterwards appointed; elected ourse from the presbyters. Thus it appears that, inde- ent both of the Eastern and Western Churches, an apostolic opal succession has been retained, and exists in our time, igst the Moravian Brethren. Nor has its apostolicity been tioned by those who have placed the highest value on opal orders. John Wesley, a century ago, sought episcopal rs at the hands of a Moravian bishop. Thirty years afterwards Episcopal Church in the United States of America con- lated a similar step, though circumstances did not require l to carry it into effect, and they obtained orders from beth. An attempt was now made to form a union with the lenses. The project was defeated by the timidity of some e Waldenses, who were unwilling to share the persecution to h the Moravians were exposed; and by a fiercer persecution h soon raged (in consequence, it is said, of the projected n being made public) against themselves, their last sur- g bishop, Stephen, being burnt alive. The Waldenses dispersed, and the name was lost; great numbers joined Church of the Brethren; more particularly at Lititz and at eck in Moravia. Thus the ancient Waldenses were in fact porated with the Moravians.

irty years followed, of alternate persecution and repose. Brethren were banished from Moravia, but they were y received in Hungary and Moldavia by the Hospodar ien. Under their heaviest afflictions, their energy never l them. About the year 1470, they published, in the mian language, a translation of the whole Bible—Wickliffe's ted, the first translation upon record into any of the



European tongues. It passed through several editions rapidly; and they soon after established three printing offices—at Prague and Buntzlau, in Bohemia, and at Bralitz, in Moravia, which for some time were solely occupied in printing Bohemian Bibles. Their eager spirit of activity induced them, in 1474, to send deputies throughout the whole of Eastern Christendom, in order to discover whether there anywhere existed Christian congregations like themselves, with whom they might unite. They travelled through Greece and Dalmatia, visited Constantinople and Thrace, and several provinces of Russia and Sclavonia, and penetrated into Egypt and Palestine. After an absence of some years they returned with melancholy tidings; nominal Christendom was everywhere sunk into vice and superstition. In 1489 they sent a deputation to Italy and France in search of the Waldenses, but these too had disappeared; they had found, they said, and they had witnessed the burning of, some noble *individuals*, confessors for the truth; but they nowhere found a *Church*, in which they could unite. It was the dark night which immediately preceded the Reformation, and they stood alone, and apparently they too were ready to expire amidst the general gloom.

In 1517, the intrepid Martin Luther opened his vigorous assault upon the Church of Rome. It was not long before the tidings reached the Brethren of Moravia; and in 1522 they deputed John Herne and Michael Weiss to visit the German reformer, to present him with the sincere gratulations of their whole body, to express the cordial interest they took in his labours, and the lively joy they felt at the success with which it had pleased God to crown his exertions and to give him a faithful account of their doctrine and constitution. Luther received them cordially. They were anxious at once to unite with him; but before they could do so, it was necessary, they told him, that he should establish a wholesome discipline. Luther replied, that the time had not yet come: "We have not yet arrived at that state in which we are able to establish, amongst us, those rules for the instruction of youth and the maintenance of holy conduct, which we are informed exist amongst you: with us things are in an unripe state and proceed but slowly." But the Brethren were impatient, and two years afterwards they sent a second deputation, urging the necessity of discipline, and com-

g of the tardy manner in which the subject was pursued.
: was displeased, publicly blamed some part of the
en's discipline, and for a time their intercourse ceased.
ruth was, that the Brethren had begun to lose their
ers, many of whom attached themselves to the Lutheran
hes, where the same doctrines were taught while an easier
ine was enforced. To prevent a complete rupture, and as
pression of their good-will, the Brethren, in 1532, trans-
to Luther a copy of their Confession of Faith. It agreed
ntially with the great German Confession, soon afterwards
hed as the Confession of Augsburg, which is now the
rd of faith in the Moravian Church. Luther was so
pleased with the Confession that he printed it at Wittem-
vith a preface, in which he declares that his suspicions
t the Brethren had vanished. "Among them I have
what I deem a great wonder, and what is not to be met
1 the whole extent of popedom. The Brethren, commonly
Picards, setting aside all human tradition, exercise them-
day and night in the law of the Lord; and though they
t as great proficients in Hebrew and Greek as some others,
ey are well skilled in the Holy Scriptures, have made
ence of its doctrines, and teach them with clearness and
cy. I therefore hope all Christians will love and esteem
' Similar testimonies in their favour were given by most
Protestant leaders; by Melancthon, Martin Bucer, Fabi-
apito, and John Calvin. Thirty years of repose followed;
1546, the emperor Charles V. took up arms against the
tants of the German empire. The Bohemian nation re-
to fight against the elector of Saxony, whom they regarded
protector of the Reformation, were declared rebels; and
mperor's vengeance fell heavily upon the Brethren, to
influence the reluctance of the Bohemians was ascribed.
property was confiscated, their nobles outlawed or im-
ed, their senior bishop, John Augusta, three times racked
courged repeatedly. A numerous body emigrated into
a, where they met with a kind reception at first, but after
the clergy of the Reformed Church were jealous of their
ine, and most of them returned into Poland; but from
eriod they were found in great numbers in all the sur-
ing German states. About this time they made several

ineffectual attempts to unite themselves with the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches (the former of whom adopt the Helvetic Confession, the latter that of Augsburg); but the peculiarities of their rigid discipline, and other causes, frustrated the design. At length, in 1570, by a *consensus*, or agreement, termed the *Compact of Sendimir*, the Polish Churches of the three Confessions united. The union, however, did not materially benefit [illegible] Church; what it gained in numbers it lost [illegible]d in Poland almost ceased to have a separate e[illegible] Moravia, the Brethren made use of an interval [illegible]cure a new translation of the Scriptures into the [illegible]anguage, and in raising the standard of educati[illegible]eir young men. Their historians describe then[illegible]ssing great influence. At one of their assemblies, [illegible]rgy, there were present seventeen grandees, and o[illegible]l forty-six nobles, of Bohemia. In 1609, the free exercise of their religion was secured to them by imperial letters patent; they were admitted into the consistory of Prague, and one of their bishops was appointed president; "but," says their honest historian, "they lost much of the vitality of religion, and of their former energetic piety; and some were even led into sinful deviations from the principles of the Bible." But a wholesome persecution once more aroused them. The Romish party resolved to enforce the edicts of the Council of Trent for the suppression of heresy. The Thirty Years' War broke out; the Protestants were defeated in a disastrous battle at Prague, in 1620, and their cause was almost lost. The vengeance of the conquerors fell heavily on the Moravians, and twenty-seven were beheaded at Prague on one day; their churches were destroyed, and their ministers slain, exiled, or imprisoned. In 1627, all the Protestant nobles were banished; and when peace was finally concluded, in 1648, the Protestant powers abandoned their brethren in Bohemia and Moravia to the rage of Austria. Their schools and churches were closed, their Bibles and religious books burned beneath the gallows. Their venerable bishop Comenius fled to Frankfort, and thence to Amsterdam; here he published a history of the Brethr Church, in Latin, in 1649. It is dedicated, with affectio respect, to the Church of England. "Should it please G he says, "at a future period, to educe good from our pre

ions, and, according to his promise, make Christendom, having received wholesome correction, instrumental in proing the Gospel among other nations; and doing with us, as d to the Jews, cause our fall to be the riches of the world, ur diminishing the riches of the Gentiles; we, in that case, end to you (the English Church) our beloved mother, the ren's Church that you may take care of her, whatever it please God to do, whether to restore her in her native land, hen deceased there, revive her elsewhere." His pious hope ot to be disappointed; the Moravian Church has found in days a loving sister in the Church of England. Comenius at the age of eighty years, of which nearly forty-four had spent in banishment; but not until (intent on preserving his ch from utter ruin, and to prevent the total extinction of pacy amongst the Brethren) he had ordained two bishops. election fell on Nicholas Gertichius and Paul Jablousky; ormer being appointed for the congregations in Poland, atter for the scattered members of the Church who still be found in Bohemia and Moravia. But Jablousky before Comenius, his son Daniel Ernestus Jablousky, ain in ordinary at the court of Berlin, was ordained his sor in 1669, and through him episcopal orders were con- to the later, or renewed, Church of the Brethren. At nt, their Church was almost extinguished, and at the ning of the last century the very name of the Moravian ren was almost lost, and Moravia and Bohemia were the papal yoke. A few of the Brethren still lingered in d; and, in 1712, a synod was even held, in which Daniel usky ordained two bishops. England, perhaps, was the country in which any sympathy was felt for the outlaws of ria.

ne Polish deputies arrived in London, in the year 1715, "a humble petition from bishops and clergy of the Red Episcopal Churches first settled in Bohemia, and since , by the persecutions of their enemies, to retire into Great d and Polish Prussia." The archbishop of Canterbury, sted in their mission, entered into a correspondence with bishop, Jablousky, whose answer was so satisfactory that d no further hesitation. A brief was obtained in the usual upon a representation made to his majesty by Dr. William

Wake, archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. John Robinson, bishop of London, and collections were made throughout the kingdom on their behalf. It was in the same year that the modern Moravian Church may be said to have renewed its life. A few of the Brethren resided still at Fulneck, in Bohemia, and several remarkable men appeared amongst them; one of these was Christian David, a man of humble birth, but of a courageous spirit, great piety, and ence. He had been bred up a zealous Roman Cati now the apostle of a faded Church. He soon p vo brethren, the Neissers, to join his great enterpri ountered severe persecution for some years: at la with Count Zinzendorf, the owner of a large est d, for themselves and their associates, a home at the title of his patrimony. The offer was gratefu and, in the year 1722, the Moravian Church wa v, and located at Herrnhut. This is still one of the chief settlements of the Moravians; and from this period they have enjoyed comparative repose.

But activity, not rest, was their natural condition. They were no sooner in possession of a quiet home than they thirsted for new enterprise. Their high ambition was to carry salvation into heathen lands. In 1728, Zinzendorf, who was admitted into the ministry and afterwards became a bishop, and his companions, had visited most of the nations of northern Europe,—England, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Prussia, Sweden, and Russia,—with a view to the revival of religion amongst their own people, now widely dispersed, as well as to impart instruction to others as opportunity might offer. In the same year they first entertained the project of converting Greenlanders and negro slaves. In 1734, three Moravian Brethren penetrated into Lapland; they found that the Swedish government had already made provision for the religious instruction of the natives, and returned to Archangel. About the same time Count Zinzendorf, being at Copenhagen at the coronation of Christian VI., his servants became acquainted with a pious negro, named Anthony. This man visited Herrnhut, and his presence, and his stories of the deplorable condition of the negroes, fanned the missionary ze of the infant colonists. Two young men, whose names deserve lasting memorial, offered themselves for the service. Leona Dober and Thomas Leupold declared that they were ready n

nly to sacrifice life, but, if necessary, to sell themselves for laves, in order to obtain access to the plantations and evangelize he negroes. The Church, however, while it respected their ell-meant zeal, disapproved of the enterprise, regarding it as, on he whole, unreasonable. For a whole year this opposition was ontinued; at length, at Zinzendorf's suggestion, the decision was made by lot; and it was determined to undertake the mission. Two other young men now offered themselves as missionaries to Greenland; again a year's delay interposed; at length they set out in January, 1733. "There was no need," says one of them, "of much time for our equipment; the congregation consisted chiefly of poor exiles, who had not much to give us, and we ourselves had nothing but the clothes upon our backs." Arrived at Copenhagen, they applied to the Danish government, but their mission seemed romantic. There was already a colony in Greenland, but it was on the brink of ruin, and likely to be abandoned. Still they pressed their suit, especially when they learned that the king was about to despatch a ship once more to the Greenland colony. "But how," said the ord-chamberlain Plesse, "do you mean to live in Greenland?" 'We intend to build a house, cultivate the soil, and live upon he produce." "But," he rejoined, "there is no wood in Greenand." "Then," said they, "we will dig into the earth, and dge there." Struck with their energy, he presented them with fty dollars to purchase wood; and with this, and a few other ontributions, they purchased some building materials, implements of husbandry, and articles for household use, and sailed ith light hearts for Greenland. Within ten years the Moraians had sent forth missionaries to Greenland, to St. Thomas, to t. Croix, Surinam, Berbice, to the Indians of North America, the Negroes of South Carolina, to Lapland, Tartary, Guinea, the Cape of Good Hope, and to the island of Ceylon. The other-church at Herrnhut consisted at this time of about six ndred persons.

John and Charles Wesley, the founders of the English Methosts, sailed to Georgia, in 1736, in company with David itschman, a Moravian bishop, and twenty-six Germans of the me communion. John Wesley gives, in his Journal, a touching count of them. He says:—"I had long before observed the eat seriousness of their behaviour. Of humility they have



given continual proof by performing those servile offices for the other passengers which none of the English would undertake, and for which they would receive no pay, saying it was good for their proud hearts, and their loving Saviour had done more for them. And every day had given them occasion of showing a meekness which no injury could move. If they were struck, pushed, or thrown down, they rose again, and walked away, but no complaint was found in their mouths. There was now an opportunity for trying whether they were delivered from the spirit of fear, as well as from that of pride, anger, and revenge. In the midst of the Psalm, with which their service began, the sea broke over, split the mainsail in pieces, covered the ship, and poured in between the decks, as if the great deep had already swallowed us up. A terrible screaming began among the English. The Germans calmly sang on. I asked one of them afterwards, 'Were you not afraid?' He answered, 'I thank God, no.' I asked, 'But were not your women and children afraid?' He replied mildly, 'No, our women and children are not afraid to die!' " Wesley took up his abode with them for a time at Savannah, where he witnessed their mode of proceeding in their election and ordination of a bishop. " It carried me back," he says, " to those primitive times when form and state were not; but Paul the tent-maker and Peter the fisherman presided; yet 'with demonstration of the Spirit and with power.' "

Yet this simple-minded people lay for some years beneath the suspicion, if not the hatred, of the greater part of Protestant Christendom. And, it must be confessed (indeed, it is candidly admitted by their apologists, with a simplicity greatly to their honour), that they themselves, by the indiscretion of their language, had given more than a pretext for the charges with which they were assailed. It is acknowledged that, at one period, particularly from 1747 to 1753, great extravagances made their appearance among some of the congregations in Germany. Count Zinzendorf set the example by making use of allusions relative to the believer's love to the Redeemer, of which we speak gently in saying that they were extremely foolish, and, to pure minds, disgusting. Others followed his example, and carried it, of course, to a worse excess. In their discourses, hymns, and other writings, they employed the strangest expres-



ions, and the wildest allusions in speaking of the love of Christ to his people, and of their communion with him. Dr. M'Lean, the English translator of Mosheim, has charged the Moravians, upon these grounds, with gross immorality; and the accusation is sustained by what professes to be an extract from Zinzendorf's writings. Dr. Haweis, a clergyman of the Church of England, writing at the end of the last century, "after near forty years' acquaintance with the Brethren," says, in answer, that "the charge is impure and malignant. I am informed," he adds, "that it would have been removed, from a conviction of its injustice, by the editor; but a copy being shown to Dr. Warburton, the author of 'The Divine Legation,' the bishop engaged him to let it stand; and there it remains, a monument of the bitterness, the bigotry and falsehood, of these accusers of the Brethren." However this may be, it is admitted that a species of wild fanaticism existed, and that the Church of the Brethren was in imminent danger of making shipwreck. The error into which they fell was one which has often beset earnest Christians, and from which the Church has suffered reproach, even from the first ages. The delight which they took in speaking of the sufferings of Christ by degrees degenerated into fanciful allegories, their style lost its simplicity and became turgid and childish, abounding in playful allusions to Christ as the Lamb and the Bridegroom, and to the Church as the Bride. In describing the spiritual relation between Christ and his Church, the Oriental imagery of the Canticles was preferred to the simplicity of the New Testament. The hearers were kept in a state of constant excitement. It seemed to promise a certain joyous perfection, representing believers as innocent, playful children, who might be quite at ease amidst the trials and difficulties, and even the temptations of life. Many of the wiser members of the Church withdrew; others bitterly lamented the evil which they deemed incurable; not foreseeing how speedily the storm of public indignation would provide a remedy. It is to be remarked, however, that the conduct of those who were most infected was never criminal, or immoral, though disgraceful to their profession. Zinzendorf, who now resided in London, addressed a pastoral letter to the congregations abroad, sharply reproving them for excesses which might be traced to his own example. A synod was held at Barby, in Saxony, in 1750, when the Brethren,

conscious that in many things they had been to blame, frankly acknowledged their faults, implored the forgiveness of God and man, and resolved to restore scriptural purity in their doctrines and practices. But, still feeling conscious of their own integrity, they requested their bishop, Spangenberg, to draw up an "apologetic declaration" on their behalf. Protestant Europe seems to have been roused to a [illegible]dignation that strangely contrasts with the apathy [illegible]ty of the age. Spangenburg has made a collection o[illegible]eventeen hundred accusations against the Brethren, [illegible]ery form of vice and every shade of blasphemy. [illegible]of the synod, and its courage, had an immediate effect [illegible]armists were satisfied, the malicious silenced, and th[illegible]f Christendom appeased, but not until the Moravians [illegible]expelled from Herrnhäag by the government as a he[illegible]ngerous sect that ought not to be tolerated in Chris[illegible]. They bowed submissively to the hand of God, and acknowledged the justice of the sentence, for at Herrnhäag these extravagances had first arisen. The hymns and other sentimental publications which had given offence, were condemned by the synod, and replaced by others of a better character. And the purity of the Moravian Brethren has never since been seriously impeached.

The Moravians in England were looked upon with some suspicion, from these and other causes, when the rebellion occurred in 1745. All foreigners were regarded with jealousy, and the Moravians were accused of favouring the Pretender, of being papists in disguise, and of concerting measures, at their meetings, of a treasonable kind. They had now formed several congregations or settlements in England, and the mob threatened to demolish their chapels, and, in Yorkshire, some of their ministers were imprisoned for refusing to serve in the militia. Many of them refused to take the oath of allegiance, believing oaths unlawful. They were led, in consequence, to claim the sanction of the legislature; and in 1747, obtained an act of parliament which recognized their Church, and protected their missionaries in our colonies. In 1749, they presented a petition to parliament praying for a strict examination into the doctrine and institutions of their Church, in order to obtain a further confirmation of their civil and religious rights, and a leg sanction for their future undertakings at home and abroad

The bill encountered some opposition at first. One article of the bill stated that the Brethren were an episcopal Church; and this, it was feared, would excite opposition in the lords. Dr Sherlock, then bishop of London, who had at first entertained a different opinion, after an interview with Count Zinzendorf, withdrew his opposition; a meeting was held at Lambeth, when the whole bench agreed not to oppose the bill. On the third reading the bishop of Worcester stated, in his place in the house of lords, that the measure had the approbation of the whole episcopal bench. It was passed unanimously; and, on the 6th of June, received the Royal assent. This act, equally generous and just, besides removing a load of obloquy, and silencing many absurd and malicious calumnies, conferred the following important privileges:—

1. The Unitas Fratrum was acknowledged to be "an ancient Protestant episcopal Church, which had been countenanced and relieved by the kings of England, his majesty's predecessors;"—"their doctrine to differ in no essential article of faith from that of the Church of England, as set forth in the thirty-nine articles." And, consequently, the free and full exercise of their own ecclesiastical constitution was guaranteed.

2. A simple *affirmation*, in the name of Almighty God, was allowed to those members of their Church, who had conscientious scruples against the form of an oath.

3. A dispensation from serving as jurymen in *criminal* cases was granted them.

4. They were exempted, under certain conditions, from actual military service.

In order to guard against the abuse of this act it was stipulated:—

1. That the advocate, or secretary, of their Church, in England, shall treat with government, whenever required, respecting the affairs of their Church, and, from time to time, notify the names and residences of their bishops.

2. That any person, claiming the benefit of the act, must be furnished with a certificate that he is a member of the Brethren's Church, by one of its bishops or ministers.

We may here notice that the Moravians, a missionary Church

elsewhere, have been satisfied in England to instruct the descendants and families of the ancient refugees, making no attempts to gain proselytes. They have been joined, from time to time, by a considerable number of new adherents, who have rather been attracted by their piety and primitive simplicity, than induced by argument or persuasion. At present, we believe, besides a c ter-lane, London, and three settlements at Fulne and Ockbrook, they have ten or twelve scholastic s, boarding-schools, in which children of various de are educated. The number of pupils, whose paren connection with the Brethren's Church, in England, upon ontinent, and including four schools in North Am orted at upwards of fourteen hundred, in about forty ost's History of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethre 1848). From this time the history of the Moravian Church presents few striking incidents. Zinzendorf, expelled from his country and deprived of his estates, was permitted to return after ten years' exile, by a royal decree, reinstating him in all his former privileges, in 1747; and soon after a royal charter was issued, by which the Brethren were authorized to form settlements in any part of the Saxon dominions, and liberty of conscience was granted to them. Zinzendorf expired in 1760. Three bishops, sixteen presbyters, and two thousand lay brethren, followed his coffin to the grave, at Herrnhut. The Moravians are anxious to have it understood that, highly as they revere the Count, his writings are not to be received as authoritative or symbolical. "With all their veneration for his person and services, they do not consider him as a perfect character, for he was but a man, and, therefore, liable to err, and they attach no higher merit to his writings than what is due to any human composition, the general tenor of which is in accordance with the Holy Scripture," (Holmes' History of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren). They admit that he wrote too much and was careless of revision, that the style and language were often extravagant, and apparently paradoxical, even in the original. But they blame the English translations, especially those of his hymns; many expressions which are inoffensive in the original, and which Luther and others had made use of, are presented in a coarse and naked form, so as to disgust the English reader. On the whole we

afely admit that, while Zinzendorf betrayed eccentricity
ant of judgment, he devoted his life and fortune to the
ion of pure religion, with a self-denial of which few exam-
e to be met with.

CONSTITUTION of the Brethren's Church is peculiar in
especta. In matters of doctrine it professes, as a fun-
tal principle, "that the Holy Scriptures are the only rule
h and practice." At the same time a distinction is made
n those doctrines which are essential to salvation, and
hat are not essential, and on which Christians may differ.
latter class are placed "all rites and customs, and every-
which belongs to the exterior of Divine worship and eccle-
l regulations. These are alterable, and to be made
ng to the best of human judgment, so that the salvation
ı, agreeably to God's gracious will, may be thereby pro-
" Thus essentials, as they conceive, being few, their
ı has scarcely ever been agitated by controversy. The
en have never published a creed, or confession of faith,
d with a general adherence to the Confession of Augsburg,
luctant to assume the appearance of dissent and separa-
The litany for Easter morning, which is also read occa-
y on other festivals, is, however, strictly speaking, a
ion of faith. Theologians may, perhaps, complain of its
f precision in some points, and its deficiencies on others;
s primitive beauty and simplicity must be admired. We
anscribe a portion of it:—"I believe in the one only God,
, Son, and Holy Ghost, who created all things by Jesus
and was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself.
elieve in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who
hosen us in him before the foundation of the world.
ho hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and
anslated us into the kingdom of his dear Son:
ho hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly
in Christ; who hath made us meet to be partakers of the
ance of the saints in light; having predestinated us unto
option of children, by Jesus Christ to himself, according to
od pleasure of his will, to the praise of the glory of his
wherein he hath made us accepted in the Beloved.
believe in the name of the only-begotten Son of God, by
are all things, and we through him; I believe that he was

made flesh, and dwelt amongst us; and took on him the form of a servant; by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, was conceived of the Virgin Mary; as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same; was born of a woman, and being found in fashion as a man, was tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin.

"For he is the Lord, the Messenger of the covenant, whom we delight in. The L is Spirit hath sent him to proclaim the acceptable e Lord; he spoke that which he did know, and testifi ch he had seen: as many as received him, to them ower to become the Sons of God.

"I believe in the , who proceedeth from the Father, and whom our is Christ sent, after he went away, that he should us for ever; that he should comfort us, as a moth her children; that he should help our infirmities, and make intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered; that he should bear witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God, and teach us to cry, Abba, Father! that he should shed abroad in our hearts the love of God, and make our bodies his holy temples; and that he should work all in all, dividing to every man severally as he will.

"To him be glory in the Church, which is in Christ Jesus, the holy, universal Christian Church, in the communion of saints, at all times, and from eternity to eternity. Amen.

"I believe that by holy baptism I am embodied as a member of the Church of Christ, which he hath loved, and for which he gave himself, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the Word.

"In this communion of saints my faith is placed upon my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who died for us, and shed his blood on the cross for the remission of sins, and who hath granted unto me his body and blood in the Lord's Supper as a pledge of his grace."

The constitution of the Church is episcopal; the bishops are usually elected and consecrated at a synod. Bishops are not distinguished from other ministers by external rank or larger incomes, nor can they ordain any minister without a commission from the elders' conference, or from a provincial conference,

which act under the authority of the synod when its sittings are suspended. There were, in 1830, eighteen bishops. Of these, six resided in Germany, two in England, one in Ireland, one in Asia, and three in America.

The presbyters have the charge of their several congregations. They are assisted by deacons, who are authorized, in the absence of the presbyter, to administer the sacraments. The office of deacon is sometimes conferred on laymen, who are intrusted with the temporal affairs of a church or of a congregation. The clergy are assisted by *lay elders;* they are the public functionaries of the Church in temporal things. The office is not clerical or spiritual, it resembles that of churchwarden in the Church of England, though with a larger field of action.

The acoluths are a class composed of persons who are employed as assistants in the missions, in preaching, or in other services, but whose office does not require regular ordination. In the early Moravian Church, every minister took one, two, or more youths of this description under his care. They lodged in his house, and he directed their studies, and they were expected to be obedient and submissive, to assist in visiting the sick, and catechising the young, and the like. The female acoluths are elderly matrons, chosen, by a majority of votes, by the female part of the congregation. Their duties are entirely confined to their own sex; they take care of the widows; and it is especially required of them to prevent and oppose everything which might endanger female modesty. They insist on great simplicity of attire.

Their religious ceremonial is simple; they frequently use extempore prayer, but on Sunday mornings a prescribed form is used, called the Church Litany. They have also litanies for baptisms and funerals. Singing forms a prominent part of their worship; all their religious services are begun and closed with a hymn; most of their chapels are furnished with an organ; and on festivals, anthems and chants are performed.

They retain the agapæ, or love-feasts, of the primitive Church: tea, or some slight refreshment, is handed round the congregation, while addresses are made upon religious subjects, varied with singing hymns and reading the Scriptures. Infant baptism is practised, without other sponsors than the parents. Confirmation is performed by each presbyter, in his own congregation, by

imposition of hands. The Lord's Supper is received kneeling and the minister wears a surplice.

The discipline of the Brethren is strict. In their settlements and where their plans are fully carried out, each congregation is divided according to the age, sex, and condition of life of its members. These divisions, called *choirs*, embrace the children, the youths and girls, the single brethren and single sisters, the married people, the widows. Separate meetings are occasionally held with these divisions, having special reference to their circumstances and relations in life. With the children this is done more frequently, at least once or twice in the week.

Wherever local circumstances admit of it (as is the case in every settlement), not only children, but also the boys and girls, are regularly instructed in the doctrines of Christianity by the minister; to whom the superintendence of the schools is usually committed. All clandestine marriages are disallowed and, if contracted without the sanction of the elders of the congregation, subject the parties to Church discipline. The salary of the minister, and all other ecclesiastical expenses, are defrayed by voluntary contributions. In the settlements, which are a kind of civil community, workshops and manufactories are established, and each member is usefully employed; but there is no community of goods; and the members of their religious houses, which they term choir-houses, or of the mercantile abodes termed diaconias, are not compelled to remain in them longer than they please. No other body of professing Christians can with so much propriety be called a missionary Church. To their labours amongst the heathen some reference has been made already; the details must be read at large in their own publications (Periodical accounts relating to the missions of the Church of the United Brethren established among the heathen). While they were yet a handful of persecuted men, their zeal had carried the Gospel to the ends of the earth. In 1736, they had established a mission to the Hottentots; in 1737, another on the coast of Guinea; in 1739, a third, in South Carolina, and a fourth, at Algiers; in 1740, a fifth, at Ceylon, besides a mission to the Jews at Amsterdam, and another to the Gipsies. At the close of the year 1851, there were, under the care of two hundred and ninety-six missionary-teachers, at seventy stations, no

than seventy thousand converts, of whom twenty thousand communicants. Of these, fifty-nine thousand were Negroes, ıousand Hottentots, and upwards of three thousand Green- ırs and Esquimaux. The total expense of these missions, to Church at home, did not amount to thirteen thousand ds. Of this sum, the Brethren furnished three thousand; emainder being contributed by members of the Church of and, and other friends. The European congregations do ımount altogether to ten thousand members at the present

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OWNISTS, THE.—Of the early opponents of the Church of England after the Reformation, the Brownists were, for a ıd of fifty years, the most considerable of Protestant sects. le the Puritans in general allowed the Church of England to true Church, though faulty in matters of discipline, the vnists declared that she was popish and antichristian; and her preachings, prayers, and sacraments were all of them lid. The Puritans, for the most part, were contented to ain within the bosom of the Established Church; the vnists shrunk from it with abhorrence. During the reigns lizabeth and James, while the Puritans vigorously assailed Church, the Brownists, with even greater warmth, assailed Puritans. The first leader of the party, whose name fur- ed them with a title, was Robert Brown, a clergyman, of l family, nearly related to the lord-treasurer Burghley, and se grandfather had obtained by charter from Henry VIII. singular privilege of wearing his cap in the king's presence. embraced in youth the principles of the Puritans, and being, ll allow, a rash and headstrong man, he soon proceeded to ıciate a new reformation, and to defend it in violent lan- ge. He inveighed not only against the discipline and cere- ies of the Church of England, but denounced it as a limb of ichrist. Such conduct was certain, in those days, to provoke severest punishment. In the year 1571, he was cited before ıbishop Parker, at Lambeth, but seems to have been pro- ed by his noble patron Burghley, whose chaplain he was, and claimed on his behalf, on that account, an exemption from jurisdiction of the Court. In 1581, we find him exercising ministry in the city of Norwich, and again in trouble. After

repeated arrests, examinations, and imprisonments, he fled to Middleburgh, in Holland; where, in 1582, the first Brownist, or Independent Church, on record, was formed under his pastoral care. But within three years he quarrelled with his people, and returned to England. Soon after his arrival we find him again convened before archbishop Whitgift; and again rescued by his kind patron the lord-tre[illegible]. But he was soon after excommunicated by the bishop [illegible]rough, whose citation he had treated with contempt. [illegible]d that the solemnity of this censure made such an impr[illegible]upon him, that he renounced his principles, and, thro[illegible]ience of his patron and the Earl of Exeter, a kinsman. W[illegible] presented to the rectory of Achurch, near Oundle, in [illegible]ptonshire. His temper was still violent, and his life no[illegible]ble for piety. The historian Fuller was acquainted [illegible] thus describes his last days: "In a word, he had a w[illegible]m he never lived, a church in which he never preached; and, as all the other scenes of his life were stormy and turbulent, so was his end. For, being poor and proud, and very passionate, he struck the constable of his parish for demanding certain rates; and being beloved by nobody, the officer summoned him before Sir Rowland St. John, a neighbouring justice, in whose presence he behaved with so much insolence, he was committed to Northampton gaol. The decrepit old man, not being able to walk, was carried thither upon a feather bed, in a cart; where, not long after, he sickened and died, in 1630, aged upwards of eighty years; boasting he had been committed to two-and-thirty prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noon-day."

But the party which he had formed and abandoned exhibited none of their leader's versatility; for consistency, energetic zeal, and dauntless courage under cruel sufferings, the Brownists were behindhand with no other sect whatever. Their objections against the Church of England, together with their own tenets and doctrines, may be gathered from a treatise published by one of the leaders at Middleburgh, entitled "Anti-Christian Abominations yet retained in England." Of the charges against the Church of England, let it suffice to say, that they comprehend perhaps every objection of every kind which, at any period, may have been urged against it by Protestant assailants. It is more to our purpose to state what were their own principles. They

"That every particular Church, with its pastor, stands iately under Christ, the Arch-pastor, without any other astical power intervening, whether it be of prelates, of , or any other invented by man." Thus they differed from ritans not only in rejecting episcopacy, but synodical ity likewise: each congregation was independent of all churches; and hence arose the congregational or inde- t system of Church government (see INDEPENDENTS). For ey believed they had the authority of the New Testament. Church," they say, "ought not to be governed by popish , courts, classes, customs, or any human inventions, but by s and rules which Christ has appointed in his Testament." Johnson, an eminent Brownist, was imprisoned and d from the university of Cambridge, in 1588, for main- , in a sermon at St. Mary's, the following amongst other tions: 1. That a particular form of Church government is ed in the Word of God; 2. That no other form ought to wed; 3. That the Church of God ought to be governed ers; 4. That we have not this government; 5. That the to promote this government is one chief cause of the ignorance, idolatry, and disobedience; 6. That there to be an equality among ministers, which the popish hy, and all who belong to it, do not like. These prin- rapidly diffused themselves, and gave the greatest uneasi- th to the Hierarchy and the State. Dissent was now ed as sedition. In 1580 an act had been passed "to retain een's subjects in their due obedience," which punished from the parish church with a penalty of twenty pounds h, and imprisonment till paid; if absent a whole year, the fine, the delinquent was bound in two sureties for ndred pounds till he should conform. The weight of this ent fell heavily upon the Brownists. Utterly refusing nal conformity, great numbers died in gaol; others were over to the Court of High Commission, then recently . Amongst these were Copping and Thacker, clergymen olk. After seven years' imprisonment, they were tried, ned, and hanged, at Bury Saint Edmunds, with Brown's ied round their necks, in 1583; the crime alleged against eing that they read, and led others to read, Brown's s. The Brownists now held their meetings in the fields

and woods, and under the hottest persecution they rapidly increased. In 1590, they are said to have amounted to twenty thousand; and another act was now passed, "for the punishment of persons obstinately refusing to come to church." All persons found present at a conventicle, or meeting, under pretence of religion, were to be committed to prison till they should conform; if they continued obstinate, they were to be banished for life beyond the que and, if they returned home, the punishment was de the oppression of this statute chiefly fell on the Br liding themselves from the bishop's officers and p those in London met at a retired place in the fie ton, where a Protestant congregation had formerly as under similar circumstances, in the reign of Mary. -six were apprehended on the Lord's-day, while singi nd sent, two by two, to different prisons in Londo ffered a long, miserable confinement, and many died unde ir barbarous usage; amongst whom was Roger Rippon. He expired a prisoner in Newgate; and his fellow-prisoners placed the following inscription upon his coffin:—"This is the corpse of Roger Rippon, a servant of Christ, and her majesty's faithful subject; who is the last of sixteen or seventeen which that great enemy of God, the archbishop of Canterbury, with his high commissioners, have murdered in Newgate within these five years, manifestly for the testimony of Jesus Christ. His soul is now with the Lord, and his blood crieth for speedy vengeance against that great enemy of the saints." We see the indomitable character of the Brownists, and can we fail to mark the folly of persecution?

Towards the close of the reign of queen Elizabeth, all nonconformists were treated with great severity. The queen's temper grew sour with increasing years; the Spanish invasion irritated the people; and there was a very prevalent impression abroad, which the prelatists improved to the utmost of their power, that the Brownists and Anabaptists were the dupes or agents of the Jesuits. Little discrimination was exercised; not only did the innocent suffer with the guilty, but the courts of justice took no pains to discriminate between different shades of guilt, or between a contumacious and a misdirected conscience. Greenwood and Barrow, two of the leaders of the Brownists in London, were brought before the Court of High Commission in

1592, after being four or five years in close imprisonment. In their examinations they maintained that all forms of prayer were unlawful; that the Book of Common Prayer was popish, superstitious, and idolatrous; that the sacraments, as administered by the Church of England, were no sacraments; and the Church itself no Church. These opinions, boldly avowed, would, at any period before the overthrow of Laud's influence fifty years afterwards, have provoked severe punishment; for, indeed, no party as yet existed in England, or in Europe, which tolerated religious differences. Greenwood's examination turned at last upon the question of the queen's supremacy; and his opinions upon this point, no doubt, marked him out to the high commissioners as a very dangerous person. "Do you hold," said the court, "that the Church ought to be governed by a presbytery?"

Greenwood. "Yes; every congregation of Christ ought to be governed by that presbytery that Christ hath appointed." The examination then proceeds thus:—

"*Q.* What are those officers which Christ has appointed?

G. A pastor, teacher, and elder.

Q. And must the Church be governed by no other officers?

G. No, by no others than Christ hath appointed.

Q. May this people and presbytery reform such things as are amiss, without the prince?

G. They ought to practise God's laws, and correct vice by the censure of the word.

Q. What if the prince *forbid* them?

G. They must nevertheless do that which God *commandeth.*

Q. If the prince offend may the presbytery excommunicate him?

G. The whole Church may excommunicate any member of that Church, if the party continue obstinate, and in open transgression.

Q. May the prince be excommunicated?

G. There is no exception of persons; and I doubt not that her Majesty would be ruled by the word, for it is not the *men*, but the *word of God* that bindeth and looseth."

The Court of High Commission must have listened with amazement, holding as they did these opinions to be treasonable. Of all princes that ever lived, Elizabeth was amongst the last to tolerate, in her own subjects, the preaching which went to set up the doctrine that a presbytery might excommunicate the sove-

reign! She had heard and despised the excommunication which the pope thundered against her, but these opinions, broached by her own subjects, were more offensive, and, as she thought, undoubtedly more dangerous.

The examination concludes thus:—

"*Q.* May the prince then make laws for the government of Church?

G. The scripture h sufficient laws for the worship of God and the gover Church; so that no man may add unto it, nor dimin

Q. What say you o supremacy? Is her majesty supreme head of the C causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil?

G. She is supreme r er all persons, to punish the evil and to defend th

Q. Is she over *all* c

G. No, Christ is the only head of his Church, and his laws may no man alter.

Q. But the pope giveth this to princes, doth he not?

G. No, he doth not. He setteth himself above princes, and exempteth his priesthood from the magistrate's sword.

Q. What say you to the oath of supremacy? Do you approve of it?

G. If these ecclesiastical orders mean such as are agreeable to the scriptures, I do; for I deny all foreign power.

Q. It means the order and government, with all the laws, in the Church, as it is now established.

G. Then I will not answer to approve of it."

Greenwood and Barrow fairly represent the Brownists at this period. And it must be admitted that, however dangerous their principles might appear to those in power, their undoubted loyalty, in other respects than those which concerned the supremacy of the queen in spiritual things, and the purity of their lives, ought to have procured for them a better fate. They were remanded to prison; and at length, in March 1592, they, with four others, were placed at the bar of the Old Bailey for "writing and publishing sundry seditious books and pamphlets, tending the slander of the queen and government." On their trial th conducted themselves with great firmness, protested their i violable loyalty to the queen, and their willing obedience to l

ernment, in all things lawful. They declared that they had tten nothing against her highness, but only against the bishops l established Church. They were all found guilty, and, while rest were imprisoned, Greenwood and Barrow, as the leaders, re reserved for a public example. Barrow appealed to the orney-general on behalf of himself and his fellow-prisoner. says, "I protest to your worship in the sight of God, at ose judgment I look hourly to stand, that I hold not anything of singularity or pride of spirit, but am certainly persuaded the grounds of God's word, the profession and practice of ormed Churches, and learned men of other countries. I will erly forsake any error I shall be proved to hold, and will mbly submit in all matters proved by the word of God." But ntence of death was passed on them, and several divines were pointed to persuade them to recant. Remaining stedfast, they re taken, on the thirty-first of March, in a cart to Tyburn, and posed under the gallows for some time before the people. They ntinued firm, even in the near prospect of death, and were rried back to Newgate. The government was disconcerted, t it decided in favour of taking vengeance. A week afterds, on the sixth of April, 1593, they were carried to Tyburn second time, and there hanged. Dr. Reynolds attended them their last moments, and had the courage to tell the queen, hat had they lived they would have been two as worthy inuments for the Church of God as any that had been raised up that age." About the same time, Udal and Penry, two young rgymen, were capitally convicted for holding Brownist opinions. nry was executed, and Udal only escaped by dying in prison, victim of anxiety and hard usage. These instances of cruelty l injustice have long been regarded, by writers of every class, the greatest blots upon the character of England and the glish government, during the long and prosperous reign of zabeth.

The severity of these measures seems to have caused a reaction the public mind; and the queen is said to have expressed her pleasure that she had been so ill advised. This may account the fact that Johnson, the chief pastor of the Brownist Church London, who had been imprisoned with the rest, was released r a short imprisonment. He, immediately afterwards, accomied by a large number of the Brownists, removed to Am-

sterdam and opened a church. It seemed, however, as if the pressure of adversity were necessary to give cohesion to the Brownists; they soon quarrelled, and their congregation was broken up. A few years later, namely 1604, John Robinson, a Norfolk divine, who had suffered much from his nonconformity in England, emigrated to Leyden, and formed a congregation on the model of the Brownists. Robinson was a man of piety, and of far greater c f a more catholic spirit than any previous leader or perhaps indeed than any other man of the age lived. He at once renounced the narrow prejudice t ere no true Churches but his own; he admitted the f other reformed Churches to his communion, and enc people to join with the Dutch Churches in prayer a gious exercises. And further, he taught his people written word of God as their guide, and be afraid o ns to which it led them. He is generally considered to be the father of the Independents, into whom the Brownists finally merged. His congregation were amongst the first of those *pilgrim fathers* who colonized New England—the founders of the great city of Boston; and amongst them the name of Robinson is still had in reverence, and his principles of Church government still flourish. During the reigns of James and Charles the First, the Brownists may be said to have maintained their position rather than to have gained any great accession of strength. Their rigid views of Church discipline excluded them from the great body of the Puritans, with whom indeed they waged a constant warfare; and rejecting, on the other hand, all commerce with the Anabaptists, whom they denounced as heretics, they remained an isolated band. They were to be found in great numbers in the parliamentary army; but during the Commonwealth they merged into the Independents, and after the Restoration we lose sight of them entirely. Brownism, notwithstanding its dreadful afflictions, was in its palmy state towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth. Many able men embraced it, and defended it from the pulpit and the press. The literature of the Brownists is chiefly controversial; but it must be studied by those who would have a r acquaintance with the state of English feeling, and English p ties, at this critical period of our history. The Brownists ha generally been made to bear the odium of the Martin-Marprel

tracts, which were published about 1580, the year of the Armada. Udal and Penry, on their trials, were charged with the authorship, or with a wilful knowledge of the authors. But they refused to make any revelations, and the real authorship of these once dreaded and proscribed, but now ludicrous, lampoons remains a mystery. The government denounced them in royal proclamations, and tracked the itinerant printing-press from county to county. But Martin-Marprelate escaped their vigilance, and replied to their proclamations with coarse, popular jests, and libels on the bishops. There is some reason to believe that the whole was a contrivance of the Jesuits. The reader may consult Osborne's "Hidden Works of Darkness" for further information on the subject.—In a graver tone the Brownists carried on a long controversy with Cartwright, the leader of the Presbyterian or Genevan Puritans. Cartwright himself had suffered heavily from the Prelatists, but he was shocked to hear it asserted that the Church of England was Antichrist. He held that it was a true Church, though he desired many reformations in it. "There are," he says, "I confess, in the Church of England, divers things not suiting well with the purity of the Gospel; yet are there also those wherein you bring a wrong report of her, charging her with the evil which she doeth not, and taking from her the good which the Lord doeth in her. Your [Brownist] assemblies seek, indeed, divers things which are to be desired; yet overcharged, not only in the disordered manner of seeking them, but also in the things themselves which you seek to obtain." "Those assemblies," he said, "which had Christ for their head and their foundation, were, in his opinion, the Churches of God, and such he considered the parochial congregations of the Church of England. The testimony of the Spirit of God, by his manifold graces poured upon them, bore witness that they were the Churches of God. The Lord in mercy had set divers burning lamps in those assemblies, whereby light was conveyed, more or less, to most parts of the land. All the Churches of Christ in Europe gave the Church of England the right hand of fellowship; and, though he pressed not this as an argument against separation, yet," he observed, that the fact "ought to stay all sudden and hasty judgment to the contrary, and to silence all severe objections until the cause on both sides should be fully examined by the light of divine truth." (Brook's

Life of Cartwright, page 305.) A noble and generous testimony in favour of the Church of England, from the first and greatest of her adversaries, and honourable to the man who wrote it!

CALVINISTS.—T[illegible]uely used to designate those, whatever Church [illegible] belong to, who receive the theological tenets of [illegible] more propriety it is applied to the Reformed Chur[illegible]erland, France, and Germany, of which Calvin was th[illegible] leader. In the present article it is employed, in a sti[illegible]ited sense, with reference to the Reformed or Calvini[illegible]hes of Germany and Switzerland as distinguished fr[illegible]utherans. It is thus used in general upon the Con[illegible]e its application to doctrinal views is almost unknown. [illegible]s latter sense, Calvinism is a theological system, the nature of which must be learned from those who treat on dogmatic divinity, or from the writings of Calvin himself.

John Calvin was born in 1509 at Noyon in Picardy, and sent early to the university of Paris. He was at first designed for the Church, but his father, perceiving his wonderful and precocious talents, changed his mind and had him educated for the law, as a certain path to high distinction. Young Calvin had already begun to read the Scriptures, and to feel misgivings as to the soundness of the Church of Rome. He repaired to Orleans, and afterwards to Bruges, where he was instructed in Greek, then a very rare accomplishment, by Melchior, from whom he also learned the doctrines of the Reformers. He was possessed of two benefices, although not yet in priest's orders, which he now resigned, and devoted himself to the work of the Reformation. Returning to Paris he avowed his new principles, and so doing incurred the anger of the Sorbonne, the high theological academy of France, and of the parliament of Paris. Francis I. was then upon the throne, a zealous champion of the papacy, and Calvin was more than once in imminent danger of the flames; from which he was saved by the good offices of t[illegible] queen of Navarre, Francis's sister, a Protestant lady of gr[illegible] worth and piety. Calvin retired to Basle, and here, before had completed his twenty-seventh year, in the year 1536,

published his "Institutio Christianæ Religionis," dedicated in a conciliatory preface to Francis himself.

Whatever differences may have existed as to certain peculiarities in Calvin's creed, or some points in his personal history, there has never been, amongst those who were competent to judge, a dissentient voice as to the extraordinary merit of this wonderful performance. It was designed, not merely as an answer to the Church of Rome, but as a complete body of practical and dogmatic theology. It was the first attempt of the kind by any of the reformers, and it still retains its supremacy amidst innumerable rivals, all of which it may be said to have provoked into existence. It has been said of it, that its effect upon the Christian world was so remarkable, that it must be looked upon as one of those books that have changed the face of society. It was written in Latin; Calvin himself translated it into French; and it was soon republished in English and in other languages. Within twenty years it took its place at Oxford and Cambridge by the side of Aristotle, and was lectured on in the Protestant universities of all Europe. Calvin, still a young man, had achieved successes such as the wisest men seldom reach till after a life of toil. He surpassed all the reformers in mental power and genius; it is said he exceeded them as much in asperity and turbulence. Perhaps his early triumph was dearly purchased, in the loss of something of his modesty and meekness!

Calvin returned to Geneva in 1536, and found the reformed religion just established there by law. Viret, Farel, and others, leaders of the Reformation, were then preaching and labouring at Geneva, and at their desire Calvin joined them, became a distinguished teacher, and very soon, by the force of his mind and character, the Protestant leader and chieftain. In conjunction with Farel, Calvin prepared a confession of faith and a system of Church government; but the Genevese, urged by the Romish priests and still attached to their old ceremonies, rose against the reformers, and in consequence Calvin and Farel were banished. Calvin retired to Strasbourg, where he became the minister of a French congregation, amongst whom he introduced his own method of Church government. This was the first Calvinistic Church, properly so called; and to this event we may trace the peculiar characteristics of the Huguenot, or French

reformed Church, in subsequent times. But in a short time, Calvin and his friend, too important to be spared in difficult times and from so small a republic, were recalled to Geneva and their sentences reversed. Calvin was now in the height of his power, revered at home and courted or dreaded abroad. In November, 1541, his code or system of Church government was promulgated by the c[illegible], and the Calvinistic Church established at Geneva.

He now conceived th[illegible]udable ambition of providing all continental Christe[illegible] least all Protestant Europe, with one and the same s[illegible]hurch government. It was a noble design,—to reduce [illegible]formed Churches to one rule of faith and one form [illegible] Its failure was perhaps inevitable; perhaps, toc[illegible]vantages have resulted from its failure than wou[illegible]nded upon its success. No similar attempt has s[illegible]ade, and the possibility of uniting all Protestant Churches in one visible union is a problem not yet solved.

Before Calvin entered upon this great design, the field had been already, to some extent, preoccupied by other labourers. Zuingle had formed a Church in Switzerland, and Luther in Germany. Of the Lutheran Church we shall speak hereafter (see LUTHERANS) It is sufficient for our purpose to mention here, that Luther, notwithstanding his dauntless courage in opposing what he saw to be the corruptions of the papacy, had retained some things which gave offence to other reformers, and seemed a compromise with superstition. He was disposed to treat with toleration images, altars, wax tapers, exorcism, and private confession. Above all, upon the subject of the eucharist he seemed almost to symbolize with the Church of Rome. It was not the mass itself, but the abuses of the mass, against which Luther protested. In the Confession of Augsburg, in which the doctrines of the Lutheran Church were formally propounded in 1530, we have these words, "Our Churches are wrongfully accused to have abolished the mass; for the mass is still retained among us and celebrated with great reverence, yea and almost all the ceremonies that have been in use; saving that, with th[illegible] songs in Latin, we mingle certain psalms in Dutch;" and [illegible] proceeds to refute the various corruptions with which the Church of Rome had obscured the sacrament. This confession, the

of all Protestant creeds, was republished in 1531 and
ut with no material alterations; and the real presence in
ss is repeatedly asserted. "There is one common mass
ed according to the institution of Christ, wherein the
of the Churches do consecrate for themselves, and give
hers, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ." . . .
hing the supper of the Lord, together with the bread and
he body and blood of Christ are truly exhibited to them
t of the Lord's supper." As the Reformation advanced,
iews appeared to the reformers in other countries, who
eyond the immediate influence of Luther's mind, obscure
ngerous. Zuingle, in Switzerland, avoiding Luther's error,
the opposite extreme. His aim was to establish, in his
untry, a form of worship which should be remarkable for
plicity, and as far remote as possible from everything
might have a tendency to revive the superstitions, in
alone he saw danger to the Church of Christ. On the
st he differed widely from Luther. The bread and wine
ntained were nothing more than symbols of the body and
f Christ—appropriate signs to show the Lord's passion
ep it in remembrance; or, to use an expression common
t the Zuinglians, "Nihil esse in cœnâ quam memoriam
" Zuingle died in 1530, while the Swiss Church was
yet cemented. Martin Bucer succeeded him, and en-
red to moderate some of his statements, and bring about
between the Swiss and German Churches. The Helvetic
ion of 1536 was presented by him to the divines at Wir-
g with this hope, and it modifies the absolute negation of
tual presence as held by Zuingle. "We say that the
is a mystical thing, wherein the Lord doth indeed offer
that are his, his body and blood, that is himself, to the
t he may more and more live in them and they in him."
f the clergy of the Swiss Church now joined the Lutheran
nd great hopes were entertained by the friends of peace
sides, that a reconciliation might be effected. But in
uther published his confession of faith in reference to the
st, which was directly opposed to that of Zuingle and
and the prospect of a union seemed to be more remote
er. Luther died in 1546; and Melancthon, a reformer,
d earnest, but of the gentlest mould, again attempted

peace. But the violence on both sides prevented his success. The discussion between the two Churches was disgraced with those bitter and personal invectives which, in that age, found a place even in the discords of critics and philosophers; and Calvin himself at length entered the field as the opponent of the Lutherans, though by no means as the defender of the positions of Zuingle, or even of th[illegible] Church.

The doctrine of the [illegible] as taught by Calvin is that which was soon afterwards [illegible] by the Church of England, and which is now receiv[illegible]e orthodox Churches of the Reformation, with the ex[illegible] the Lutherans. "The holy mystery of the supper," h[illegible]his Institutes, chap. 17, book 4), "consists of two thi[illegible]s to say, of the bodily signs, which being set before [illegible]esent unto us spiritual things; and of spiritual truth, [illegible]hose signs both figured and delivered." He explains [illegible]position against the Romish transubstantiation, and the newer Lutheran consubstantiation. Of the latter he says: "They hold that the bread of the supper is verily a substance of an earthly and corruptible element, and suffers no change in itself, but yet has under itself the body of Christ enclosed. If they meant no more than that, when the bread is delivered in the sacrament, there is adjoined the delivering of the body, since the reality cannot be separated from the sign, I should have no great contention with them. But, placing the body in the bread, they feign for it a being in every way contrary to the nature thereof. And their error, rashly conceived, is obstinately defended; some of them do not hesitate to say that the body of Christ never had any narrower limitations, but is as far and wide as earth and heaven. What else is this but to raise up Marcion out of hell! For no man can deny that the body was a mere phantasy if it were such as they pretend. Some, with more subtlety, maintain that this body which was given in the sacrament is a glorious and immortal one; and therefore it is no absurdity, if it be contained in many places, or in no place, or under no form, or under the form of the Sacrament. But what, I ask, was that body which Christ gave to the disciples the day before he suffered? Was it not the same mort body which was afterwards delivered up? He had, it is true, they remind us, showed his glory to three of his disciples on th Mount—to give them a taste of immortality for an hour. Bu

we never find that Christ had a double body; it was the same body garnished with new glory. If their opinion be correct, the body of Christ is at the same time (as Marcion taught) mortal and immortal, base and glorious. Nay, being in its nature visible it lies hid invisibly under the sign of bread!"

With equal force he refutes the Helvetian theory,—that the Sacrament was only a commemorative rite. "We must certainly determine that Christ is truly given us in this Sacrament as if he himself were set visibly before us and handled with our hands. For this word can neither lie to us nor mock us, Take, eat, drink; this is my body which is delivered for you; this is the blood which is shed for the forgiveness of sins. The chief, and in a manner the whole, pith of a Sacrament stands in these words: Which is delivered for you; which is shed for you; for it would not profit us much that the body and blood are now distributed unless they had once been given forth for our salvation. Therefore they are represented under bread and wine, that we should learn that they are ordained for the nourishment of spiritual life. They do not satisfy me who, acknowledging that we have some communion with Christ, make us partakers only of the spirit, without making any mention of flesh and blood. As though all those things were said without a meaning, That his flesh is verily meat; and that none hath life but he that eateth his flesh and drinketh his blood."

A union with the Lutheran Church was now hopeless; Calvin's influence was such that shortly after the death of Zuingle he was permitted to remodel the Helvetian Church and to modify its doctrinal statements. Zuingle, for instance, had allowed to the civil magistrate the supreme power, in his ecclesiastical constitution. The clergy were subordinate to each other, and at their head was placed a perpetual president, or bishop, superior to the clergy but controlled by the civil magistrate. Calvin reduced the power of the magistrate within narrow bounds. He declared the Church a separate and independent body endowed with the power of legislation for itself. He maintained that it was to be governed, like the primitive Church, only by presbyteries and synods, that is, by assemblies of elders composed of both clergy and laity; and he left to the civil magistrate little more than the privilege of protecting the Church and providing for its wants. Thus he introduced into the republic of Geneva

the Presbyterian system; rejecting bishops, and asserting the principle that amongst the clergy no subordination is due to one another; all, by the law of Christ, being equal in rank and authority. He established a consistory of ruling elders, pastors, and laymen, invested with a great degree of power. Of this consistory he was chosen president for life; but on his death-bed he made it his last request that the precedent should not again be imitated. So much was vested for life in the hands of a single person he regarded as jealousy, as unfriendly to the independence of the clergy and safety of the Church. Calvin also set the example of synods, convened by different Churches for the establishment of a common order, which have so often been attempted since, for the most part with faint success. His religious discipline was severe, and excommunication was a civil sentence. Such measures could not have been effected in a free republic unless his influence had not been that of a dictator, rather than a simple minister of Christ. On other points he was no less successful. Shortly after the death of Zuingle the Swiss Churches abandoned his doctrine of the eucharist, and within a few years, not only they, but almost every branch of the reformed Church, had accepted, as their standard of faith, a system of theology in which it would be ridiculous to deny that the influence of Calvin may still be traced.

And yet there were points in his theological system which gave rise to the greatest contentions that, on questions of pure theology, the Church had witnessed since the Arian controversy shook it to its centre. In divinity Calvin was an implicit follower of St. Augustine, and taught, with the great Latin father, the doctrine of the absolute decrees. He considered election to eternal life, on the one hand, as the correlative of reprobation on the other; and both originating in the sovereignty of God. (Institutes, book 3, chap. 23, which the reader will see is little more than a reduction into a formal method of St. Augustine's arguments in favour of absolute reprobation, gathered from his various works.) These questions did not enter into the theology of Zuingle, nor did they find a place in the Augsburg Confession of the Lutherans. The Church of England afterwards omitted the question of reprobation entirely, and placed the doctrine of election on a wider base; leaving it apparently an open question whether it results from faith and good works fore-

seen, or merely from the Divine sovereignty. (See Dr. Macbride. Lectures on the 39 Articles.) The Swiss Church, with those of Berne and Zurich, was not easily persuaded to accept as an article of faith the doctrine of predestination as taught by Calvin. The prudence, however, of this great man, seconded by his resolution and his vast renown, triumphed at length so far as to bring about a union between the Swiss Churches and that of Geneva, first in relation to the doctrine of the eucharist and afterwards on the subject of predestination. The doctrine and discipline of the Reformed Church, as modelled by Calvin, were soon afterwards established over a great part of Europe. In 1560, Frederic III. removed the Lutheran teachers in Germany, and filled their places with Calvinists, and at the same time obliged his subjects to accept the rites and discipline of the Church of Geneva. This order was annulled by his son Louis in 1576, but again enforced in 1583; and Calvinism regained a sway, which in Prussia it has lost only in the present generation. The republic of Bremen, and the Protestants of France, entered into a close union with Geneva; and (of all his triumphs, the noblest and the most enduring), the Church of Scotland, acknowledges as its founder, under God, John Knox, the disciple of Calvin. It at once adopted, and still retains unaltered, and guards with watchful jealousy, those doctrines, forms of worship, and ecclesiastical institutions, which were first established at Geneva, though with sundry alterations in the last (of which a more full account will be given in the article on the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND). Other reformed Churches, as those of Denmark, Nassau, and Anhalt, without absolutely submitting themselves to the direction of the Church of Geneva, accepted many of its peculiarities in opposition to the Lutheran scheme of doctrine and polity: and thus a modified Lutheranism prevailed where systematic Calvinism was excluded; or the two Churches co-existed in the same state.

Thus Geneva became the mother and mistress of the reformed Churches. The Theological College which arose under the auspices of Calvin was the resort of the most inquiring minds, and it was directed by men whose fame to this day stands unimpaired by the lapse of centuries. Indeed the Helvetic Church was singularly happy in its roll of illustrious names, far outstripping in this respect the less gifted, or at least less successful, Churches

of the Baltic and the Rhine, and even of Great Britain. Calvin, Beza, Œcolampadius, Musculus, Zuingle, and Rodolph Gualter, were the leaders from whom Protestant Europe learned her first lessons, and at whose feet not a few of our English reformers sat. Their letters, still preserved in the archives of Zurich, show a depth of regard, and a respectful deference, to the founders of the Helvetic Church which are honourable to both sides. A selection of this corre st brought to light by Bishop Burnet, has recently and to the historical student is invaluable. But, fr uses, the fame of Calvin grew dim at Geneva; and t urches seemed, twenty years ago, on the point of mak pwreck of their long-cherishe Calvinistic faith. The uingle, upon the Sacraments, was communicated to ollowers, and, after his death, the same kind of free e use of upon other subjects. Socinus, the reviver o Arian theory, was himself a member of the Swiss Church, and even adopted the Helvetic confession. He settled at Zurich, where he died in 1562—just two years before Calvin himself. Servetus, denying the godhead of Christ, was burnt as a heretic at Geneva during Calvin's life. The share which the great reformer had in this atrocious (though, in those days, and long after, by no means unusual) act of judicial cruelty, is disputed; but he certainly defended the sentence after it was carried into effect, and, we have no reason to doubt, secretly approved it. Thus, even while Calvin was living, the seeds of decay were already sown in the Church: they lay dormant for a time, and then came to a rapid maturity. Geneva soon ceased to be heard of as a leader amongst the reformed Churches, and when, after a slumber of two hundred years, she again revived, it was as the champion of a system, termed rational Christianity—from which all the peculiar doctrines of Calvin and the Reformers were totally excluded. A late writer, a member of the Church of Scotland, describes the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, as, at this time, the least religious of all Protestant communities. "The Swiss people present the remarkable social phenomenon of a people eminently moral in conduct, but eminently irreligious; at the head of th moral state in Europe, for ready obedience to the law, for honesty, fidelity, sobriety—at the bottom of the scale for religious feeling, observances, or knowledge." (Laing. Notes of a Traveller, &

842.) The same writer describes the state of religion in Geneva n these graphic words: "I happened to be at Geneva one Sunday norning as the bells were tolling for church. The very sounds vhich once called a Calvin, a Knox, a Zuingli, to religious exer-ise, were now summoning their descendants to the same house f prayer. I hastened to the ancient cathedral, to see the pulpit rom which Calvin preached, to sit perhaps in the very seat from vhich Knox has listened, to hear the pure doctrines of Chris-ianity from the preachers who now stand where once the great hampions of the Reformation stood; to mark too the order and bservances of the Calvinistic service here in its native church; o revive too in my mind Scotland and the picturesque sabbath lays of Scotland in a foreign land. But where is the stream of itizens' families in the streets, family after family, all so decent nd respectable, in their Sunday clothes? where the quiet, the epose, the stillness of the sabbath morning, so remarkable in very Scottish town? Geneva, the seat and centre of Calvinism, he fountain-head from which the pure and living waters of our cottish Zion flow, the Rome of our Presbyterian doctrine and ractice, has fallen from her original doctrine and practice lower han ever Rome fell. Rome still has superstition; Geneva has ot even that semblance of religion. In the head church of the riginal seat of Calvinism, in a city of five-and-twenty thousand uls, at the only service on the sabbath-day—for there is no even-ng service—I sat down in a congregation of about two hundred emales, and three-and-twenty males, with scarcely a youth, or oy, or working man amongst them. A meagre liturgy, or printed rm of prayer, a sermon, which, as far as religion was concerned, ight have figured the evening before at a meeting of some geo-gical society, as an essay on the Mosaic chronology, a couple of salm tunes on the organ, and a waltz to go out with, were the hurch service. A pleasure tour, publicly advertised, around the ke in the afternoon, and overflowing congregations in the vening at the theatre, the equestrian circus, the concert saloons, all-rooms and coffee-houses, are all that distinguish Sunday in he city, in which, three centuries ago, Calvin moved the senate nd the people."

The supine state of the Protestant Church is equally visible roughout the cantons of Switzerland. In 1839 an insurrection roke forth in the canton of Zurich, in consequence of the local overnment having appointed Dr. Strauss to the chair of theology.



Dr. Strauss, in his "Leben Jesu" (Life of Christ), having avowed his disbelief of those events of our Saviour's history which do not admit of explanation by the ordinary laws and operations of nature; and being, in fact, the leader of the nealogian school of divines. The peasantry were headed by some of their clergy, and blood was shed; but the movement was rather political than religious, and was neither accompanied nor followed by any revival of religious feeling in the people. The attempt, however, on the part of the local government to appoint a theological professor, who denied and controverted the primary facts on which Christianity stands, sufficiently explains the low state of religion in Switzerland.

The causes of this decay have been thus explained. Besides the original taint which the national character received from the daring speculations of Socinus, the State and Church were engrafted on what has been termed "a bastard Lutheranism." Calvin, in imitation of the Lutherans, or in order to prevent the excitement of the people by the prayers of fanatical preachers, who adapted their effusions to the passions of the hour, or with a view of preserving the hearer from other doctrines and impressions, prescribed a set form of prayer. But it was extremely meagre, wanting the venerated antiquity, the pure eloquence, and the application to every condition of mind and body which marks our English liturgy, and in some degree that of the old Lutheran Church. There is little in the public service to engage the affections of the hearer; and, unless the preacher be eloquent, nothing even to interest him. The usual form of Church duty is this: the minister first reads a short prayer, the people standing; then gives out two verses of a psalm, which are well performed, there being an organ generally even in country churches and all the psalm-books having the notes of the music printed with the psalms, and the common people understand music enough to use the notes. The text is read while the people are still standing, and they then sit down, and old men and peasants generally put on their hats while the minister delivers his sermon. The sermons are always read from papers; but some of the young clergy use the papers very little, and seem to have them merely as notes to refresh the memory. The printed forms of prayer are then read. They have at least the merit of being very short. None of the congregation have them in their hands. They are not used, like the English Prayer-book, by the congre-

gation as well as the minister, but only by the minister. A couple of verses of a psalm conclude the service, which, with a brisk tune on the organ—the fashionable opera air of the day—to go out of the church with, occupies about three-quarters of an hour. This is all the Church service on Sundays.

During the last twenty years the state of religion has shown great improvement in consequence of the labours of Dr. Cæsar Malan, the eloquent and energetic Dr. Merle D'Aubigné, and others. In Geneva, and at various towns in the cantons, the doctrines of the ancient Church are again preached to crowded congregations, and, perhaps, with more practical wisdom than in Calvin's days. A "Société Evangelique" has been formed, with the view of recovering Switzerland and southern France to the principles of the Reformation and the practice of true piety. Their proceedings are full of interest; but the subject is scarcely ripe for history.

The history of the Calvinistic Church in Germany, and more particularly in Prussia, still requires our attention. The whole of Germany is computed to contain fourteen millions and a half of Protestants. Prussia alone contains upwards of eight millions and a half. These have been all along divided unequally, the preponderance, on either side, varying in different states between Lutherans and Calvinists; the members of other Churches, Moravians, Baptists, and the like, being comparatively few. Attempts have been repeatedly made since the days of Calvin to unite the two Churches. A scheme, termed the Form of Concord, was devised by Andreas, a Lutheran professor, in 1572, revised by the great divines on both sides, and adopted, for a time, by most of the Lutheran Churches: but the Calvinists were dissatisfied, and the endeavour to enforce it created fresh dissensions. A second, and equally fruitless endeavour, was made by a convocation of divines from Saxony, Brandenburg, Brunswick, and the Palatinate, in 1583. In 1615, 1631, and 1662 these attempts were repeated by the electors of Brandenburg; and in 1703, 1707, and 1736 by their successors, the kings of Prussia. Frederic William, at the last of these conferences, proposed to drop the Calvinistic doctrines of predestination, if the Lutheran Church would abandon those ceremonials which were offensive to the Calvinists, such as the high altar, the wafer, the priestly robes, and the chanting of the prayers after

the Romish custom. Many Lutherans were disposed to accept the terms; but other subjects now began to occupy the minds of continental kings and nations, and the congregations slumbered on, each after its ancient use and custom.

Under Frederic the Great infidelity and indifference were the fashion of the times. Germany had no literature of her own; and the writings of Voltaire, and the example of Frederic, were grossly irreligious. ...rs' war was followed by a period of yet deeper ... irreligion; and during the wars of the French rev... he close of the century, Germany, one great batt... venty years, had neither the inclination nor the po... e and amend her spiritual institutions; and whe... e third centenary commemoration of the Reformati... the people of Prussia were in a state of great apathy ... nce on all religious questions. The late king, anxious t... h a project which so many of his ancestors had in vain attempted, resolved to seize the favourable moment, and to commemorate the centenary by the union of the two Churches. In a proclamation, dated September 27, 1817, the union was decreed in the following terms:—"My illustrious ancestors, the elector John Sigismund, &c., &c., laboured with anxious and pious care, as the history of their lives and government shows, to unite the two divided Protestant Churches, the Lutheran and the Reformed, or Calvinistic, into one evangelic Christian Church. Honouring their memory and salutary intentions, I willingly join in this purpose, and pray that a work, pleasing to God, which in their days met with insurmountable obstacles from an unhappy sectarian spirit, may, under the influence of a better spirit, which sets aside the non-essential, and holds fast by the essential in Christianity, in which both confessions of faith agree, be accomplished in my states, to the honour of God and the welfare of the Christian Church, at the approaching centenary commemoration of the Reformation. . . . . To this long wished-for union, in which the (Calvinistic) Reformed Church will not be compelled to embrace the Lutheran, nor the Lutheran the Reformed, but both will form one newly-created Evangelical Church, in the spirit of their h... founder, no obstacle now exists, provided both these part... desire it earnestly and in a true Christian spirit; and on t... approaching occasion of returning thanks to Divine Provider...

e unspeakable blessing of the Reformation, show that they honour the memory of its great founder by carrying on his

But much as I wish that the Reformed and Lutheran ches in my dominions may partake with me of these views, pect their rights and liberty, and am far from pressing them is occasion to adopt and establish it. This union can only real value if neither persuasion nor indifference induce its tance, but a real and free conviction; and if its roots and ence be not planted in the very soul, and not in outward s. . . . I leave it to the wisdom of the consistories, the pious zeal of the clergy and their synods, to determine outward concurring forms of this union, convinced that the regations will, in a true Christian spirit, gladly follow them. forms will be easily adjusted, and the externals will be le, dignified, and true May the promised time arrive when hall form one flock under one Shepherd, having one spirit, love, one hope!"

is impossible not to respect the piety of this appeal, and pplaud the endeavour to heal the breach between the two ent Churches of the Reformation. Of about 8,950 congrega- of Protestants in Prussia, 7,750 were reported to have d the union, and adopted the new ritual. On the 30th of , 1817, an order from the Minister of State abolished the es of Lutheran and Reformed or Calvinistic Churches, and the name of Protestant, common to both, and commanded Church to be known and designated for the future as the ngelical Church of Prussia. There was a general acquiescence, t a hearty submission, on the part of the nation; and thus ngth the Church of Calvin disappeared in the most potent of Germany.

great a change was not easily brought about. Difficulties nted themselves which the king and his advisers had not een, and the royal mandate was not executed without rities strangely at variance with its mild and placid tone. Berlin synod, to whom the formation of the new Church been intrusted, endeavoured to effect a compromise on the tion of the presence in the Sacrament; and instead of the s used in the Lutheran Church, "This is my body," sub- ted, "Christ said, this is my body." But this gave great ce to many pious Calvinists, and by Lutherans was con-



sidered in the light of an evasion. In 1822 a new liturgy
" agenda," to give perfect uniformity to the service of the
Prussian Church, was drawn up by the same divines and
mitted to the revision of Dr. Neander. When, however, it
to be introduced it met with great opposition in various pl
The king was irritated, and the objections having assum
political form, they were denounced as treasonable. In
poor villages in Silesia, which refused to exchange the
Lutheran service for the new, troops were quartered on the p
till they should conform. They were reduced to utter ruin,
a few of them, about six hundred in number, calling thems
old Lutherans, fled from persecution across the Atlantic,
found a home with the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers.
magistrates of the city of Berlin were required, as patrons o
city churches, to introduce the new liturgy. They answere
a declaration, dated July 13, 1832, which seems to show
the monarch had mistaken the temper of his subjects. "
they say, " this liturgical right of the sovereign is to be held
of the inherent rights of sovereignty, it must extend with e
force to all his subjects, alike to Catholics as well as Protest
But the king claims no such right over his Catholic subjects,
the Protestants will be induced rather to go over to the Cat
faith than to be exposed to the constant disquietude of
science by ever-changing forms of worship imposed at
pleasure of each succeeding sovereign. If inherent, this litur
right must belong to other sovereigns, to Roman Catholics,
how is the Protestant religion to subsist at all in Catholic s
if the Catholic sovereign has this inherent right over
religious observances?" This document was backed by a m
rial from twelve ministers of Berlin, in which they repeat
own objections to the new service-book. It has been
defended, on the one hand, by bishop Eylert, of Potsdam,
assailed, on the other, by Dr. Von Schutz, of Wurtzburg,
a host of polemical writers, Roman Catholic and Protes
What its future destiny may be, or whether the experiment
utterly fail, and if so, what is destined to occupy its place.
speculations on which it would be hazardous to offer an opi
Chevalier Bunsen, in his " Church of the Future," seem
prepare an edifice for which the foundations have been sca
laid at present; how far it may exist in the reasonable hop

wishes of his countrymen, we cannot tell. The present distractions of Germany will, no doubt, interfere with any project of Church reform, even were Prussia ripe for the change. We conclude with a description of the service in the new Prussian Church by the keen observer whose volume we have already quoted; though it seems to us not free from a touch of sarcasm. There is an altar railed in, and covered with an altar-cloth. Two lighted wax candles and a crucifix stand upon the altar, and behind and around it are pictures of saints and holy subjects, as in a Roman Catholic church. The only difference observable is, that the priest at the altar is in a plain black gown, instead of the embroidered robes in which the Catholic priest officiates. He reads the new liturgy standing with his back against the altar, and facing the people. The Amen to each prayer is finely quavered out by the choristers behind the altar, and the "Halleluia," the "Holy, holy, holy," the "Glory to God in the highest," &c., are delivered with great musical effect, as might be expected in so musical a land. But, as justly objected to by the twelve ministers in their protest against this new service, the congregation have no part in all this; they are not made partakers, as in the former, and in the English liturgies, in the act of public worship. They are but passive listeners, as to an opera.

So little has it been intended that the congregation should take part in this new service, that no book of the liturgy, equivalent to the English Common Prayer Book, are in their hands. The liturgy is for the clergyman only, and is not even to be got at the booksellers' shops. The only book of public worship in the hands of the congregation is the Gesangbuch. This is a sort of hymn-book in doggrel verse, which supersedes the Psalms of David and the paraphrases of portions of Scripture used in our Church services. It is printed as prose, but each clause of a sentence is a line rhyming to another clause. It is divided into sections and sentences, which are numbered; and the numbers being stuck up in conspicuous parts of the church, the congregation, on entering, sees what is to be sung without the minister or clerk giving out the place and verse. The whole part that the congregation has to take in the public worship by the new service is to sing or chant a portion of this Gesangbuch, with the accompaniment of the organ, before the minister comes to



the altar to read the liturgy, and again, in the interval between the liturgy and the sermon. The whole liturgy occupies about half an hour; and as the ministers in the new church are prohibited in the agenda from occupying more than one hour, the sermon seldom exceeds five-and-twenty minutes. This, in the more serious part of the congregation, occasions great dissatisfaction. In so short a time the preacher can scarcely give an exposition of his text, much less apply it to the wants and circumstances of his hearers. It prevents also the possibility of entering upon a wide and varied course of instruction from the pulpit, and may in part account for the growth of that rationalism or nealogianism which, since the establishment of the Evangelical Church, has found its strongest citadel in Prussia. (See RATIONALISM.)

COPTIC CHURCH.—This is the Monophysite Church in Egypt. Its head is styled the Patriarch of Alexandria, though he resides at Cairo. It has a bishop or titular patriarch of Jerusalem, who also lives at Cairo, visiting Jerusalem at Easter. The Copts have a convent at Jerusalem, and a chapel within the church of the holy sepulchre. The history of the Coptic Church may be very briefly stated.

In the fifth century, Eutyches taught that the two natures, human and divine, in the person of Christ, were so blended as to become one nature, the human being absorbed in the divine. (See ARMENIAN CHURCH.) He raised a formidable party, and amongst his followers was Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria. By his influence it was that Eutyches escaped condemnation at the General Council of Ephesus, A.D. 449, summoned expressly on the subject of his heresy; but by a decree of the Fourth General Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 457, both Eutyches and Dioscorus were condemned; and, in consequence, the latter was banished from his see. But his friends in Egypt were powerful enough to prevail ultimately against the decision of the orthodox party. A Eutychian, or Monophysite, Church was established in Egypt, which, under the title of the Coptic Church, continues to the present time. Probably no section of the Christian Church is reduced to a lower state of degradation, ignorance, and poverty. Besides the patriarchs there are twelve bishops, and a great

number of archpriests, priests, and deacons; but it frequently happens that neither the priest nor any of his congregation can read, and the conduct of the former is often such as to entitle him to no respect. Missionaries were sent out by the Church Missionary Society some years since, with the benevolent wish of restoring the Coptic Church to a purer state. They found the clergy and people sunk in sloth and superstition; the clergy using the gospels as charms, and some of them teaching that the Virgin Mary was a person in the Godhead. The churches contain no images; but they are decorated with gaudy pictures of the saints, before which the people prostrate themselves. They suppose that if a child die unbaptized, it will be blind in a future state. They are said to practise circumcision on their children. (Lane's "Manners and Customs of Modern Egyptians." London, 1836.) They maintain the doctrine of the transmutation of the elements into the real body and blood of Christ; and offer prayers for the dead. The invocation of the Virgin is commonly practised. The Coptic language has long fallen into disuse, and is now understood by few; but the services of religion are still conducted in it, with occasional explanations of some parts of the service in Arabic, now the spoken language of the country.

The number of Coptic churches and convents is stated at about one hundred and fifty. The Coptic Christians do not exceed one hundred and fifty thousand, of whom, perhaps, ten thousand reside at Cairo. They have long suffered great oppressions from the Mahomedan rulers of Egypt, and bear the mark of a degraded race. They are said to be suspicious, sullen, and faithless. The men are obliged to wear a coloured turban to distinguish them from the Moslems, and the women are concealed with a veil. Under the present ruler of Egypt their condition has been considerably improved. There are numerous schools for boys; and the British and Foreign Bible Society has furnished them with the Scriptures in Coptic and Arabic.

It was in Egypt that, in the early ages of Christianity, the monkish system was practised in its severest forms; and the same disposition still exists. Monastic seclusion is common amongst the Coptic Christians, and great austerity is practised. The number of their convents exceeds that of their churches; but the monks are profoundly ignorant, and their chief virtue is the hospitality they cheerfully extend to travellers. Manuscripts



of great value have been discovered in some of these refuges, and no doubt many more exist, and will one day, we trust, reward the diligence of our enterprising travellers.

The Abyssinian Church is a branch of the ancient Coptic Church of Egypt. The *abuna*, or bishop of Abyssinia, is required by a canon of his own Church to be appointed or consecrated by the patriarch of Alexandria, to whom he is subject. (See ABYSSINIA, CHURCH OF.)

COVENANTERS, by writers of the last century termed CAMERONIANS; a once numerous body of Scotch Presbyterians. Their leader, Richard Cameron, fell in battle at Airsmoss, fighting against prelacy, in 1680. The history of the Cameronians is that of a political no less than a religious party; but it is interwoven with the spiritual affairs of Scotland during the reign of Charles II., and forms a painful episode in the history of the Scottish Church.

To understand the nature of the principles for which the Cameronians fought and suffered, it will be necessary to carry back the reader to the affairs of Scotland in the time of James I. In the year 1581 a confession of faith, or national COVENANT, was subscribed, first by the king and his nobility and afterwards by all ranks, in which episcopal government was condemned and a Presbyterian Church established. An unsuccessful attempt was made a few years afterwards by some of the nobility to restore episcopacy, which led to a solemn ratification of the Covenant in the year 1590; and James himself being suspected of a too favourable regard for popery and prelacy, the Covenant was again renewed by the General Assembly at Edinburgh in 1596. James succeeded to the throne of England upon the death of Elizabeth in 1603, and was scarcely seated in his new dignities when he plainly discovered his aversion to the Presbyterian kirk. In 1610, three bishops were consecrated in London, and sent down to Scotland to take possession of the sees of Glasgow, Brechin, and Galloway: they proceeded to consecrate an archbishop of St. Andrews, and to place bishops in the other anciens sees These proceedings were very unpopular. The churches where episcopalian ministers officiated were forsaken, riots frequently occurred, and the prisons were crowded with the

rian clergy who refused to own the authority of the
Matters were in this state when Charles I., accom-
by archbishop Laud, visited Scotland in the summer of
He not only resolved to enforce episcopacy, but, with
ed zeal, to enforce those ceremonies which were in use
Church of England it is true, but still under constant
from a large section of both clergy and laity. On the
July it was resolved to introduce the surplice and the
e-book," in the great church of Edinburgh. The dean
ding prayers in the desk, and in his surplice, when an
an starting up exclaimed, "Villain! dost thou say the
my lug?" (ear), and threw the stool on which she sat at
d. A national uproar followed. Remonstrances and
s were sent in great numbers to Charles, entreating him
the ceremonies or to withdraw the bishops; but these
eated with disdain. The consequence was that the
l Covenant was once more brought forward, read in the
ly and the churches, and subscribed and sworn to with
enthusiasm. The Assembly disannulled all the acts of
s Assemblies by which prelacy had been countenanced,
tested against the spiritual supremacy of the sovereign,
memorable words: "That it is unlawful itself, and pre-
to the privileges that Christ has left his Church, for the
dissolve or break up the Assemblies of this Kirk, or stay
roceedings; for then it would follow that religion and
-government depended absolutely on the pleasure of the
&c. The spiritual supremacy of the sovereign has
been exceedingly distasteful to the Presbyterian Church.
his which scandalized the Covenanters more than prelacy
nd the rupture which has so recently taken place in the
of Scotland, in our own times, owes its existence to the
inciple. The Scotch Parliament met in June 1640, and
ed the acts of the Assembly, and once more ratified the
nt. Charles, now embroiled with his own subjects, was
to sanction what he had no power to resist. It was
by his own authority in Edinburgh—for he had now
d to the north—"that every member of succeeding Par-
s shall take and subscribe the National Covenant, and give
in Parliament relative thereunto;" and thus the Presbyte-
vernment and discipline were re-established by the King,

the Parliament, and the Assembly, and prelacy was legally abrogated and abjured.

The National Covenant, slightly altered in form, was adopted by the Westminster Assembly of Divines in 1643, who wished to establish a Presbyterian Church in England upon the model of the Kirk. It was now termed "The Solemn League and Covenant," being intended as a compact between the two nations. It was subscribed and sworn to by the Lords and Commons at Westminster in 1643, and, once more, by the whole Scottish nation, and, if possible, with greater enthusiasm than before. It bound the subscribers with a solemn oath, amongst other reformations, "to endeavour, without respect of persons, the extirpation of popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness;—lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues." To this instrument Charles II. set his hand, on his coronation in Scotland, in 1649, and swore to observe it the year afterwards at Breda. On the 16th of August, being then at Dumferling, and anxious to secure the confidence of his Presbyterian subjects, he published a declaration in which he says, "Though his Majesty, as a dutiful son, be obliged to honour the memory of his royal father, and have in estimation the person of his mother, yet doth he desire to be deeply humbled before God because of his father's hearkening to, and following evil counsels, and his opposition to the work of reformation, and to the Solemn League and Covenant, and for the idolatry of his mother, the toleration of which in the king's house could not but be a high provocation to Him who is a jealous God, &c." The king goes on to declare, "that he has sworn and subscribed to the Solemn League and Covenant, not upon any sinister intention and crooked design for attaining his own ends, but, so far as human weakness will permit, in the truth and sincerity of his heart; and that he is firmly resolved, in the Lord's strength, to adhere thereto all the days his life. He will have no enemies but the enemies to the Covenant, and no friends but the friends of the Covenant." The declaration had been extorted from the young king by a resolution of the General Assembly, that "they would own the king so far only as he owns and prosecutes the cause of God, and disclaims his and his father's opposition to the work of God and

the Covenant." Presbyterian writers have remarked that one can compare these solemn oaths and protestations with Charles's conduct afterwards without horror for his wicked dissimulation and perjury. His conduct, no doubt, was infamous; but, at the same time, these were hard conditions to impose upon a king; and the conduct of the Scottish clergy in thus placing before him, for his signature, a document in which the memory of both his parents was traduced, has met with the severe censure of virtuous men of all parties.

Charles recovered his English throne in 1660, and it was immediately seen that, notwithstanding his solemn protestations, prelacy was about to be restored in Scotland. On various pretexts several eminent ministers were imprisoned. The Scotch Parliament met in 1661, and the influence of the Court was sufficient to induce them to pass the "Rescissory Act," by which they renounced the Solemn League and Covenant, declared the king's power in public offices absolute and unlimited, and settled the government of the Church on such a basis "as the king finds most consistent with scripture, monarchy, and peace." Thus, in effect, the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland were placed absolutely in the king's hands. Presbyteries, synods, and kirk-sessions were still permitted to assemble, but their power was gone. Presbyterian government was expiring, and scarcely outlived the year. Soon afterwards the synods were suppressed, and the Solemn League and Covenant was burnt by the hangman, by order of both Houses of the (English) Parliament.

It was now resolved to establish prelacy upon the ruins of the Presbyterian Church: it was restored entirely by virtue of the royal supremacy, and had no other warrant than a proclamation from Whitehall. The choice of bishops was the next consideration, and "the choice," Bishop Burnet says, "was generally very bad." Sharp was made archbishop of St. Andrews, and metropolitan. The Presbyterian writers describe his character in the darkest colours, as "a monster of hypocrisy, perjury, and villainy." But the history of these unhappy times was written by contemporaries, naturally enough, with too much heat and passion. Sharp had been a Presbyterian, and was one, indeed, when designated to the episcopate, having received only Presbyterian orders. On the return of Charles to London, he had been employed on behalf of the Kirk of Scotland to obtain the ratifi-



cation of all their privileges, and, amongst the rest, of the Covenant. He basely betrayed his trust, and received the primacy as his reward, which may well explain the odium under which his memory still lies in Scotland. Most of the other bishops had sworn to the Covenant, and, with one exception, all of them were Presbyterians. Leighton was probably the only one amongst them whose temper, learning, or piety, qualified him for such an office; and he is said to have entered upon it with much reluctance, and, as he became acquainted with the character of his brother bishops, with gloomy forebodings. The new ecclesiastical constitution was now accepted by the Scotch Parliament, and the bishops were seated in its House of Lords. The irritation of the people was indescribable; four hundred of their favourite ministers were silenced, and many were imprisoned for refusing to conform. Gillespie, principal of the college of Glasgow, a minister of unquestioned learning and piety, was summoned to Edinburgh, on a charge of high treason, though known to be in a dying state. The Marquis of Argyle, Guthrie, and Captain Govan, leaders of the Presbyterian party, died upon the scaffold on a similar charge; and the estates of others were confiscated. At length, in 1664, a Court of High Commission was established, similar to that which had been the instrument of so much tyranny in England in the time of Laud. It was certainly one of the most infamous courts that ever was erected in any Protestant nation. It consisted of forty-four members, but five was a quorum. They were authorized to call before them "all obstinate contemners of the discipline of the Church—all keepers of conventicles—all who preached in private houses or elsewhere, kept fasts, or administered the Lord's Supper—all who spoke, preached, wrote, or printed, to the scandal or detriment of the government in Church or state—all absentees from public worship,—and to punish them by fine or imprisonment, &c., *according to law.*" But a clause was inserted, which, in fact, rendered the Commission absolute:—"and generally the commissioners aforesaid are authorized and empowered to do and execute *what they shall find necessary* for his Majesty's service."—Crookshank, Hist. Church of Scotland, vol. i., p. 172.

Sharp seems to have chosen for his model the worst precedents of Laud and Whitgift. It was by his advice the Court of High Commission was revived in Scotland; and Wodrow, the Scotch

yterian historian, asserts that he, at the same time, moved
e himself might have the precedence of all the officers of state
management. This motion the king complied with; and
lingly the high commissioner was sent down to form the new
al, with a letter to the Privy Council of the same date, signi-
his royal pleasure that the archbishop of St. Andrews should
he first place at the council-board, and all other public meet-
efore the chancellor and all other subjects within the kingdom,
of course, disgusted the nobility; and the common people
already in hostility, the new regimen rested solely upon force.
proceedings of this court were most iniquitous. One
was necessary in order to form a quorum; and Sharp
lf was often present. His temper, which naturally was by
eans gentle, was often ruffled by the encounters he met
even on the bench. Smith, the minister of Cowend, was
ht up for preaching in his own house after he was silenced.
dressing the archbishop he avoided calling him my lord.
you know," said the Earl of Rothes, "to whom you are
ing?" "Yes, my lord, I do," replied Smith. "I am
ing to Mr. James Sharp, once a fellow-minister with myself."
was immediately laid in irons in a dungeon, called the
es'-hole, in company with a furious madman. His friends,
discovered, brought him food by the grating which opened
e street, and he was removed forthwith to an inner cell,
whence he was banished to one of the Shetland Islands. A
atrocious case was that of some boys of Ancrum, who had
n stones at the new episcopalian minister, though it was
d that neither he nor any one else had been hit. This
outrage had been provoked by the misconduct of the
man himself, who seems to have been a man of worthless
ter. He had been already excommunicated by the Kirk,
ne offence; and a countrywoman, on the day of his induc-
emonstrated with him, it may be supposed in no courteous
in order "to persuade him from intruding himself upon a
ning and reluctant people." The four boys, the woman,
er two brothers, were brought prisoners to Edinburgh, and
before the high commission. The sentence of the court
hat the boys should be scourged through the city, burnt in
ce with a hot iron, and sold as slaves to Barbadoes. The
en endured their punishment with a heroism that amazed

and delighted the vast, indignant multitudes. The woman was ordered to be whipped through the town of Jedburgh. The bishop of Glasgow was applied to, to obtain a remission of the sentence; he refused with a coarse and brutal jest,—"he would make them claw the itch out of her shoulders." The two brothers were banished to Virginia into slavery. Bishop Burnet tells us, that many of the episcopal clergy of Scotland were greatly shocked at these proceedings, and that he himself drew up a memorial, of which he sent copies to the bishops of his acquaintance, to protest against the misconduct of the Scottish bishops. Sharp having heard of this, demanded that Burnet should be at once deposed and excommunicated; and his protest seems to have been withdrawn. In fact, all reasonable, all moderate men, stood aghast; equally terrified with the cruelties exercised in the north, and with the recklessness of the court in London.

The natural results followed: a rising took place at a village near Dumfries, in consequence of some cruelties; and, in the fray, a soldier was killed. The poor people, in alarm, took arms; the contagion spread; a few Presbyterian clergymen unwisely joined them; the covenant was renewed with great solemnity by a body of four or five thousand men, who marched for Edinburgh, to lay their grievances, as they said, before the government and ask for justice. They were met at Pentland by the king's forces, and easily routed with but little bloodshed; for, although the government of the day dignified the affair with the title of a great rebellion, it appears that the Covenanters had no serious intention of bringing the matter to the issue of the sword. Their appearance in arms was intended rather to coerce the government than to overturn it.

A scene of horror followed such as in the history of civilized nations is almost unexampled. That the leaders in the rising should be barbarously executed was only according to the fashion of the times; that their followers should be sent by scores to the gibbet, or sold as slaves to the plantations, was to be expected under a Stuart dynasty; and such things would have passed unnoticed, even in later days. But Sharp was determined to wreak his vengeance on the Presbyterians, and, while the gallows groaned beneath his victims, men, women and children suffered tortures worse than death before the executioner finally stepped into their relief. A favourite mode of torture was the boot, a

vice, in which the leg was compressed till the marrow
the bone. To this torment many of the Presbyterian
condemned: amongst others, Hugh Mackail, chap-
James Stuart, of Kirkfield. On the 1st of September
eached in the great church of Edinburgh, and, speak-
persecutions that had befallen the Church, he said,
r things, that "the people of God had been persecuted
Pharaoh on the throne, a Haman in the State, and a
e Church." He made no application; perhaps none
ry. His hearers, however, discovered a resemblance
Lauderdale, and Sharp. Mackail fled, but foolishly
ad joined the rebels. He was first tortured to extort
n with regard to the late rising; he was then tried,
ced to be hanged. His behaviour was that of a
declared that he was less anxious as to his death than
n been about his sermons. On the scaffold he spoke
tion. Then, "the napkin being put over his face, he
tle within himself; after which, he put up the cloth,
ad one word more to say, in order to show them the
had in his death. And thus he said, 'I hope you
o alteration or discouragement in my countenance and
nd as it may be your wonder, so I profess it is a
nyself; but I will tell you the reason of it. Besides
s of my cause, this is my comfort, which was said of
nen he died, that the angels did carry his soul into
bosom; so that, as there is a great solemnity here, of
e of people, a scaffold, a gallows, and people looking
ows; so there is a greater and more solemn prepara-
ven of angels to carry my soul to Christ's bosom.'
speaking a little to the same purpose, he concludes
d now I leave off to speak any more to creatures, and
eech to thee, O Lord! And now I begin my inter-
n God, which shall never be broken off. Farewell,
mother, friends and relations; farewell the world and
; farewell meat and drink; farewell sun, moon, and
come God and Father; welcome sweet Jesus the
f the new Covenant; welcome blessed Spirit of grace
f all consolation; welcome glory, welcome eternal life,
ath.'"

scenes were enacted in all the disturbed districts. It

was the policy of the government to brand the whole body
Presbyterians as rebels, and its vengeance fell without dis
nation upon the innocent and guilty. Bishop Burnet's testi
is very unfavourable to the Scotch prelates. Wisheart, bis
Edinburgh, showed, he says, a Christian disposition, se
liberal supplies from his house to the prisoners. But n
could soften Sharp; on the contrary, he encouraged the epi
ministers in the disaffec nties to bring in all the inf
tion they could gather, both ainst the prisoners and their
ciates, in order to their pr ecution. Thus the countr
exasperated in the highest ree; and "they looked on
as wolves and not as shephe " Numbers of the clergy, a
as laymen, were executed to high treason—always exulti
the cause and expressing ser nents of exalted piety. "I
die as a hero," said one of the tter on the scaffold, "but I
to die as a Christian." The same sentiment animated al
sufferers. At mid-day an attempt was made to shoot the
bishop of St. Andrews in his coach, in the streets of Edinb
The assassin was well known to the citizens, but he es
through their connivance, though a large reward was offere
his conviction. The severities still continued, and numbers o
country gentlemen of Scotland were insulted, fined, and s
times put to death. At length, in 1669, a letter of indul
was obtained from the king on behalf of some of the Pr
terian clergy. But it was clogged with conditions which
very disagreeable to Presbyterians, and but few availed t
selves of it. Those who refused to do so were prosecute
holding conventicles. The Covenanters now met in the ope
and when discovered, were severely harassed. Archb
Leighton proposed terms of accommodation: he would
allowed of Presbyteries, provided the clergy would conse
return, to episcopacy; but they would make no concessions
1672, a second indulgence was issued in behalf of about
ministers, whose names were given, and who were least offe
to the ruling power; but it gave little satisfaction. In fa
attempted to place the clergy at the disposal of the Crown;
this," said they, "is pure *Erastianism*. A secular power a
to govern the minister who receives his commission from C
himself." Besides, the indulgence was meant to silence all
who were not expressly named; so that a few were unw

ceive, under any conditions, as a favour, what all claimed as ght. Thus matters stood for the present, the hatred of each y to the other daily gathering strength. Enormous fines e imposed upon the gentry. Eleven gentlemen were amerced ectively in the sum of three hundred and sixty-eight thousand l thirty-one pounds, Scotch money, or about thirty thousand nds sterling. The items run thus:—"Sir George Maxwell, Newark, for three years' absence from his parish church, 200*l.*; for a weekly conventicle, 62,400*l.*; for three disorderly tisms, 1,200*l.* Total (in English money, about ten thousand nds, or) in Scotch, 94,800*l.*" The Covenanters generally came ed to their field meetings, and sometimes blood was shed; the Highlanders, then a lawless race, were let loose upon them, l went, attended by their chiefs, in military array through the wlands, plundering and laying waste. Archbishop Sharp was ked upon as the prime author of all these calamities, and a rible revenge awaited him. On the 3rd of May 1679, as he s riding in his coach, accompanied by his daughter, and ended by four servants, a small body of nine or ten persons gentlemen, it was said, of good families—fell upon him on the d near Kennoway. After deliberately cutting the traces and mounting the attendants, one of them, calling him a "cruel d bloody traitor," bid him prepare for death. Accounts differ th respect to the archbishop's conduct. The Presbyterian iters represent him as horribly alarmed and clamorous only for life. A relation, published by authority, describes the last ne as that of a pious martyrdom amidst brutal assassins. A tol was fired into the carriage, which missed the archbishop d wounded his daughter. Whether he then stepped out, or s dragged by the conspirators, is a debated point. He was in upbraided with his crimes, and especially with shedding blood of the saints, and persecuting the Church of God, and n despatched by a shower of bullets, and his head beaten to a peless mass. The feeling of indifference with which the rder was regarded, may be inferred from the fact that the assins were never discovered. A proclamation was issued thwith, offering a large reward, or a free pardon even to an ual accomplice; and all persons in the shire of Fife, where the d was done, were compelled to appear on certain days, at cified places, in order to be confronted by the witnesses.

Several were executed as accessaries, but the chief actors were not betrayed, though known to many. Another rising followed at Rutherglen, which was quelled at the battle of Bothwell Bridge; four hundred of the Covenanters were slain, and many more murdered in cold blood. The infamous Claverhouse now comes upon the scene, and for six years the cruelties practised by him and his associates almost exceed the boundaries of human credulity. The persecution was at its height in 1685. Abjuration courts were established, and the soldiers themselves were formally intrusted with the power of life and death. Before such tribunals it was enough that the accused would not abjure the covenant, or the *engagement*, to the same effect, of a more recent date. An Act was passed in Edinburgh, that all those who would not declare the Bothwell Bridge affair to be a rebellion, the primate's death murder, or the covenant rebellion, or only *hesitated* on these questions, should be tried for their lives. It was to the common soldiers in the fields, and to the abjuration courts, these trials were committed! The effects were dreadful. Multitudes were destroyed every month, without the tedious formality of a trial. Hanging, beheading, drowning, torturing, and other methods of cruelty, were daily practised. At Wigton, Margaret Maclauchlan, a widow of sixty-three, and Margaret Wilson, a girl of eighteen, refused the abjuration oath. They were bound to stakes driven into the shore below high water, so that death came nearer with each wave of the floating tide. The elder woman was placed next the sea, so that she died first. Margaret Wilson was unmoved; she sang the 25th Psalm, read the 8th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and prayed. The waves came on, and she disappeared beneath them. She was dragged out of the water half dead, and asked if she would pray for the king. "I desire," she said, "the salvation of all men, and the damnation of none." The bystanders entreated her to cry, God save the king; the words would have saved her life. "God save him if he will," she said, "it is his salvation I desire." The officer who presided at the execution, proposed the oath of abjuration to her, and her friends implored her to spare her life. "I will not," she said; "I am one of Christ's children; let me go." She was again fastened to the stake, and her name is enrolled amongst the martyrs of the covenant.

Several attempts were made to rouse the Presbyterians in

body to take up arms and throw off their allegiance to the Stuart family. A declaration of this kind was published at Sanquhar, in which it was asserted that the "true Presbyterian Church and covenant nation" were bound to renounce the authority of a king who, though descended from their ancient sovereigns, "had long since departed from what he ought to be, by his perjury and usurpation in spiritual things and tyranny in matters civil." Cameron, Cargill, and other names famous in the history of the Covenanters, were subscribed. The soldiery were immediately sent in search of the daring band who thus arrayed themselves against a powerful and merciless government. A sharp encounter took place at Airsmoss, between a body of 120 dragoons and 66 of Covenanters. Cameron and his brother died upon the field; his head and hands were cut off and placed over one of the gates of Edinburgh. "And there," said Murray, who had ordered the exhibition, "is the head and hands that lived praying and preaching, and died praying and fighting." His severed limbs were carried to his father, who was then a prisoner in the Tolbooth, to increase his sorrow. The old man kissed them: "I know them; they are my son's, my dear son's," he cried, "good is the will of the Lord."

James the Second now ascended the throne, with the devotion of an apostate, and the heart of a grand inquisitor. The insurrection of the earl of Argyle was a pretext for new cruelties, and to the last year of his reign, there was scarcely an interval of rest to the Covenanters. One of the last sufferers was Renwick, a minister, who was hanged at Edinburgh in the very year which brought in the prince of Orange and the revolution. His dying words have never been forgotten in his native land. "I must tell you, dear friends and spectators, I die a Presbyterian Protestant. Lord! I die in the faith that thou wilt not leave Scotland, but that thou wilt make the blood of thy witnesses the seed of the Church, and return again and be glorious in our land! I own the covenant, the solemn league, and all the faithful contendings for the covenanted reformation. I leave my testimony, approving the preaching in the fields, and the defending the same by arms. I leave my testimony to all those truths that have been sealed with bloodshed, on scaffolds, fields, or seas, for the cause of Christ. I leave my testimony against popery, prelacy, erastianism, and against all usurpations and encroachments upon Christ's rights;



and in particular against this absolute power, usurped by this usurper, which belongs to no mortal, but is the incommunicable prerogative of Jehovah!"

The revolution of 1688, which rescued England from popery, delivered the Covenanters from their persecutors, and restored the Presbyterian Church. In July 1689, an Act was passed by the Scotch parliament, by which prelacy was abolished. In the next session, the king and queen renounced the spiritual supremacy, "as inconsistent with Presbyterian government." And thus, to use the words of a Scotch historian, an end was put to a most cruel and bloody persecution, and the Church of Scotland restored to the freedom of her General Assemblies, Synods, Presbyteries and Church Sessions. (Crookshank, Hist. Ch. Scotland, vol. ii. 496.) We may add, that the sufferings of the covenanters still shed a lustre over the Church which justly reveres their memory.

DOCETÆ, an obscure section of the great Gnostic heresy. They taught that the body in which our Lord suffered was not properly his own; that he had, indeed, no proper manhood, and that he died only in appearance upon the cross; hence their name (Docetæ, from δοκεῖν, to seem). Tertullian reduces the heretics in the apostolic times to two—the Docetæ and the Ebionites. Theodoret gives the same account of them. Little more is known of the Docetæ. See article GNOSTICS.

DONATISTS.—There were two eminent persons of the name of Donatus, African bishops in the fourth century, from one or other of whom the Donatists took their name. They were rather a faction in the Church than a religious sect; the question between them and the Catholic Church turning chiefly upon the limits and amount of episcopal authority. But they made a considerable figure in the history of the Church, and some account of them may not be unacceptable in these pages. This new faction started up in Africa, and though it arose from small beginnings, it afflicted the Church most grievously for more than a century. Its history may be briefly told.

Mensurius (bishop of Carthage) dying in the year 311, the

archdeacon Cæcilianus was chosen by the greater part of the clergy and people to fill his place; and he was consecrated to the bishopric by the bishops of Africa Minor, without waiting for the assembly of the Numidian bishops. This hasty proceeding gave great offence to the Numidian prelates, who had always been present at the consecration of the bishops of Carthage; they therefore assembled, and called Cæcilianus before them to give an account of his conduct. The flame thus kindled, was greatly augmented by several Carthaginian presbyters, particularly Botrus and Celesius, who were competitors with Cæcilianus. Lucilla also, an opulent lady, who had been reprimanded by Cæcilianus for her superstitious practices, conceived a bitter hatred to him, and distributed large sums of money amongst the Numidians, to encourage their opposition to the new bishop. Thus divisions arose insensibly.

Secundus of Tigisi, primate of the adjoining province of Numidia, and the seventy prelates who assembled with him in council at Carthage, A.D. 311, now declared Cæcilianus to be unduly elected, and notified to the rest of Africa that they had appointed Majorinus in his room. Cæcilianus refusing to submit to the judgment of the Council, the Carthaginian Church was divided into two factions, and suffered under the contests of two rival bishops, Cæcilianus and Majorinus.

The Numidians alleged two important reasons to justify their sentence against Cæcilianus: first, that Felix of Aptungus, the principal bishop who assisted at his consecration, was a *traditor* (one of those who, during the persecution under Diocletian, had *delivered* the sacred writings and the pious books of the Christians to the magistrates to be burned), and that, as he had thus apostatized from the service of Christ, it was not possible that he could impart the Holy Ghost to the new bishop.

A second reason for their sentence against Cæcilianus was drawn from the extreme harshness and even cruelty displayed in his conduct, while he was a deacon, towards the Christian confessors and martyrs during the persecution under Diocletian; these he had abandoned, in the most merciless manner, to all the extremities of hunger and want, leaving them without food in their prisons, and even denying them that relief with which others were willing to succour them.

To these accusations were added the insolent contumacy of the



new prelate, who refused to obey their summons, and to appear before them in Council, to justify his conduct.

No one opposed Cæcilianus with such bitterness and vehemence as Donatus, bishop of Casæ-Nigræ; and hence the whole faction is called after him, as most writers think, though some are of opinion that the sect derived its name from another Donatus, surnamed the Great, who succeeded Majorinus, bishop of Carthage.

This controversy in a short time spread far and wide, not only throughout Numidia, but even through all the imperial provinces in Africa, which entered so zealously into this ecclesiastical war, that in most cities there were two bishops, one at the head of Cæcilianus's party, and the other acknowledged by the followers of Majorinus.

Roman Africa was a district of great extent: according to Bingham's calculation, it contained six provinces, and 466 bishops, who were able to settle their ordinary affairs among themselves. The supporters of Majorinus seem, at first, to have taken it for granted that so it would be, and at a later period some of their party speak of the views of Donatus as accepted "by nearly the whole world." Perhaps the dispute might have been settled among themselves had it not been for the appeal which the Donatists made to the civil power.

In 313 the Donatists brought this controversy before Constantine, who commissioned Melchiades, bishop of Rome, and three bishops of Gaul, to examine and inquire into the matter. The result of this examination was favourable to Cæcilianus, who was entirely acquitted of the crimes laid to his charge. The accusations adduced against Felix, by whom he was consecrated, were at that time left out of the question; but in the year 314, the cause of that prelate was examined separately by Ælianus, proconsul of Africa, by whose decision he was absolved. The Donatists, whose cause necessarily suffered by these proceedings, complained much of the judgment pronounced by Melchiades and Ælianus. The small number of bishops that had been appointed jointly with Melchiades to examine their cause, particularly excited their reproaches and even their contempt. They looked upon the decision of seventy venerable Numidian prelates as infinitely more respectable than that pronounced by nineteen bishops (for such was the number assembled at Rome),

who, besides the inferiority of their number, were not sufficiently acquainted with African affairs to be competent judges in the question.

The indulgent emperor, willing to remove these specious complaints, ordered a much more numerous assembly to meet at Arles, composed of bishops from Italy, Germany, Gaul, and Spain. Here again the Donatists lost their cause, but they renewed their efforts by appealing to the immediate judgment of the emperor, who condescended so far as to admit their appeal; and he himself examined the whole affair in the presence of the contending parties, at Milan, in the year 316.

The issue of this third trial was not more favourable to the Donatists than that of the two preceding councils, whose decision the emperor confirmed.

The Donatist party, however, persevered, notwithstanding it now became manifest that the rest of Christendom held them to be in the wrong; party-spirit kept them together, and fortified them against what they called the Transmarine Churches. They loaded Constantine with the bitterest reproaches, and complained that Osius, bishop of Cordova, who was honoured with his friendship, and was intimately connected with Cæcilianus, had, by corrupt insinuations, engaged him to pronounce an unrighteous sentence. The emperor was indignant, and deprived the Donatists of their churches in Africa, and banished their seditious bishops; some were even put to death. Hence arose violent commotions and tumults in Africa, for the Donatists were exceedingly numerous and powerful. Constantine endeavoured to allay these disturbances by kindness and negotiations, but his efforts were fruitless.

These unhappy disturbances gave rise to a confederacy of desperate ruffians, who passed under the name of Circumcelliones. This furious set of men was composed of the rough and savage populace, who embraced the party of the Donatists, and maintained their cause by force of arms, filling the African provinces with slaughter and rapine, and committing the most enormous acts of perfidy and cruelty against the followers of Cæcilianus: it is evident they were Christians in nothing but the name.

This outrageous multitude contributed to render the sect of the Donatists an object of the utmost abhorrence, though it does not appear that the bishops of that faction (those, at

least, who had any reputation for piety) approved of their proceedings.

In the meantime, the discord gathered strength daily, and seemed to portend the approaching horrors of a civil war; to prevent which, Constantine at last abrogated the laws that had been enacted against the Donatists, and allowed the people to adhere to whichever party they pleased.

After the death of the Great, his son Constans, to whom Africa was allo division of the empire, sent Macarius and Paulus in vince with a view to heal this deplorable schism, and t e Donatists to conclude peace.

Their principal bishop all methods of reconciliation, and his example was other prelates of the party. The Circumcelliones also co d to support the cause of the Donatists by the most unrele assassinations and cruel massacres; they were, howe d in their career by Macarius, who defeated them in the of Bagnia. After this, the power of the Donatists rapidly declined; a few submitted, but the greater part saved themselves by flight; numbers were sent into banishment, among whom was Donatus the Great; and many were punished with the utmost severity. During these troubles, which lasted nearly thirteen years, the Donatists were used with much cruelty and injustice, which of course excited loud complaints against their adversaries.

The emperor Julian, upon his accession to the throne in the year 362, permitted the exiled Donatists to return to their country, and restored them to their former liberty. This step so far renewed their vigour, that they brought over, in a short time, the majority of the African provincials to their interests.

Gratian published several edicts against them, and in the year 377 deprived them of their churches, and prohibited all their assemblies, public and private; but the fury of the Circumcelliones, who may be considered as the soldiers of the Donatists, and the apprehension of tumults, prevented the vigorous execution of these laws. This appears from the number of churches they had in Africa towards the conclusion of the century, which were served by no less than four hundred bishops.

Two things, however, tended to diminish the power of the sect, and made it decline apace about the end of this century: one was a division that arose among them, on account of a person

named Maximin, which greatly weakened their cause; but another circumstance which precipitated their decline was the zealous and fervent opposition of Augustine, first presbyter, and afterwards bishop of Hippo: he exposed their dangerous and seditious principles, as he considered them, in the strongest manner.

The great argument employed against them by the Catholic advocates, and especially by St. Augustine, was, that they could not be right because they were cut off from that common body of the Church Catholic which inherited the promises. "O senseless perversity of man!" he exclaims, "you suppose yourself to be praised for believing about Christ that which you do not see; and you do not suppose you will be condemned for denying respecting His Church that which you do see, although the Head is in heaven, and the body upon earth."

There were naturally some among the Donatists who excused themselves by shutting their eyes, as their opponents said, to their true position. Such was Tortunius, bishop of Tubursica, of whose personal character St. Augustine speaks highly, though he never suppresses his conviction that the state of schism in which the Donatists lived, was an impediment to their salvation, for which no personal piety could compensate.

But there were other Donatists who were too consistent to lay claim to any communion, virtual or otherwise, with the rest of the Church throughout the world, and who justified their isolation either by their right of succession to their own sees, by the great preponderance which they had in their own province, or by the purity of their doctrine and sacraments. The two first arguments seem to have been mainly relied upon. At the conference at Carthage, the Donatist bishops were careful to display their numbers, which, in the province of Numidia, were allowed to exceed those of the Catholics; they insisted that each bishop should show his right to his see, and prove the validity of his spiritual descent; and maintained that it must be settled by such considerations as these, which party had a right to the title of Catholic. At other times, and especially by the smaller parties which split off from the main body of Donatists, the purity of manners and doctrine was principally insisted upon; those were rightly to be called Catholics, "who observed all the Divine precepts, and all the sacraments;" "in them alone would the Son of Man find faith at his return."

The answer given to these arguments shows the importance which their opponents attached to the decision of the collective body, that is, of the numerical majority. "The title of Catholic," St. Augustine said, "was not meant to express an opinion, but a fact; it merely indicated what was that body which was known to exist throughout the world; if to attribute it was to admit the powers of the body which was thus described, it was only because the predictions had declared this condition to be essential to their The number of the Donatist bishops, and their rigl dividual sees, was met again by the fact that they m province, and that no single province could claim to y of Christ which was spread throughout the world.

And finally, their ass necessity of a pure communion was met by the such matters there could be no certain judge excep h Catholic. "The collective body," says St. Augustine, with certainty, that those cannot be good men, wherever they may be, who separate themselves from the collective body." The same principle is apparent in the mode of argument which he employed against rebaptism. This had been a peculiarity of long standing in the African Church, having been introduced, as it would seem, early in the third century. It is one of the charges of Hippolytus against Callistus, that this practice was introduced among the members of his communion, while he was bishop of Rome; and then probably was held the council at Carthage, in which Agrippinus presided, at which rebaptism was first authorized. St. Augustine allows that St. Cyprian and the bishops of Africa supposed themselves to have authority from Holy Scripture for adopting the course they took.

The doctrine of the Donatists was that of the Catholic Church; nor were their lives less exemplary than those of other Christian Churches. Their offence, therefore, lay properly in the following points: — in declaring the Church of Africa, which adhered to Cæcilianus, fallen from the privileges of a true Church, and deprived of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, on account of the offences with which the new bishop, and Felix, who had consecrated him, were charged; in maintaining that the sanctity of their bishops gave their community alone a full right to be considered as the true Church Hence they pronounced the sacred rites and institutions

all virtue and efficacy among those Christians who were
isely of their sentiments; and not only rebaptized those
ıe over to their party from other Churches, but ministers
ɔrived of their office, or ordained a second time.
Donatists were almost entirely confined to the Churches
a.
ırguments of St. Augustine appear to be weak in the
, and unworthy of his name. They simply assume that
ɔrity is always right, and would equally condemn every
ı from the most corrupt Church, provided always that the
party were the minority. Mr. Robert Wilberforce, the
ıdeacon of York (who, since the article on the Anglo-Ca-
ras written, has joined the Church of Rome), has adduced
guments, in fact, and instanced the case of the Donatists,
to condemn the Reformation. The Donatists appear to
en the Waldenses of the early Church; like them they
l for independence against the overpowering mastery of
inant Church, and were oppressed and maligned in con-
. Like all oppressed minorities, they probably displayed
and exclusive temper, but even their opponents acquit
unsound doctrine or immoral conduct.—(See LONG'S
the Donatists; MOSHEIM, vol. i.; WILBERFORCE *on the*
acy.)

AND, CHURCH OF.—The origin of the Church of Eng-
must be sought in the primitive ages of Christianity.
ıd had scarcely emerged from barbarism when the gospel
planted in it. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Tertullian,
f the first and second century, tell us that in their time
el had penetrated wherever the Roman arms had reached.
n, A.D. 198, asserts, possibly with some figurative license,
n those parts of Britain which were inaccessible to the
had been subjugated to Christ. Eusebius, the historian
Church, who flourished in the time of Constantine, attri-
ɜ conversion of Britain to some of the apostles. Clemens
s, St. Jerome, and Theodoret affirm that "St. Paul
to the isles in the ocean and at the extremest west;"
uch expressions Britain was commonly understood. In
and seventh centuries several writers concur in speaking

expressly of St. Paul's mission to the British islands. "We may finally conclude," says Dr. Burgess, the late learned bishop of Salisbury, in one of his charges, "that the testimony respecting St. Paul's preaching in the utmost bounds of the west, that is, in Britain, is indisputable." Of the Church thus founded we have but few memorials. In the year 314 the signatures of three British bishops, those [illegible]lon, and the colony of London, probably Colchester, [illegible] to the canons of the Council of Arles. In 347 Bri[illegible]vere present at the Council of Sardica, and a few yea[illegible] at that of Ariminium. Archbishop Usher, in his [illegible] the antiquity of the English Church, considers it pr[illegible]there were British deputies at the Council of Nice. [illegible]m of Alban, the proto-martyr of England, no doubt [illegible]erulam under the persecution of Diocletian; and w[illegible] ready faith to the testimony of Gildas, where he des[illegible]erce storm of a bitter persecution as having swept, about this time, across the British Churches. On the accession of Constantine the Churches had rest from persecution; but Arianism rent them internally; and, according to the same authority, "the perfidious Arians, dark as a transmarine serpent, vomited their poison amongst us." Pelagianism followed; and Britain claims the questionable distinction of having given birth to the father of the heresy. Pelagius (which is said to be the Latinized form of the Welsh name *Morgan*) denied the doctrine of original sin, and the depraved condition of mankind in consequence of the fall of Adam. He was answered by St. Augustine; and the controversy agitated the universal Church. Pelagianism was condemned by the Council of Carthage in 412. It appears, for a time, to have gained much favour in the British Churches; but at length, under an edict of Valentinian, its teachers were exiled and peace restored. But the Roman power in Britain was hastening to an end, and with it the existence of civilized society, and almost the very being of the British Church. The savage tribes who overspread the island were idolaters. During more than a century the fierce contest was waged between the invaders and the ancient possessors of the soil; and when it closed, Christianity, except in Wales a[illegible] the northern isles of Scotland, was totally extinct. Thus t[illegible] ancient Church of Britain fell, for the race of British Christi[illegible] had perished.

e Anglo-Saxon Church soon rose upon its ruins. The
ers had now obtained firm possession of their conquests,
egun to cultivate the arts of peace. About the year 560
bert was king of Kent, with an authority over the other
ains, which was acknowledged as far as the Humber.
r the title of Bretwalda, he was the head of the confederate
igns of the heptarchy. He married a Christian princess,
a, daughter of Cherebert, king of the Franks; and, happily
e spiritual welfare of mankind, a stipulation was made in
arriage treaty for the free exercise of her faith. She was
led by Luidhard, a Frankish bishop, and for her use a
h church, dedicated to St. Martin, which lay in ruins at
rbury, was restored; and the worship of the true God was
more celebrated in England. Thus a Christian congrega-
was formed at the principal seat of Anglo-Saxon power;
s its leading member was the queen herself, can we reason-
suppose that it long failed of making converts. Gregory
reat was bishop, or pope, of Rome. He was a prelate of
ambition, redeemed to some extent by earnest zeal for the
gation of the gospel. Before his accession to the papal
, his attention had been drawn to the spiritual destitution
British islands, and he had even determined, in person, to
pt their conversion. The venerable historian Bede relates
y, which wears at least an air of probability, and which he
hat he received *traditione majorum*. It is also related in
ncient Saxon *Homily on the Birth-day of St. Gregory*.
yet a monk, this famous pontiff was one day passing
gh the slave-market of his native city. There his eye was
ly arrested by some light-haired, fair-complexioned youths,
stood exposed for sale. "Whence come these lads?" he
. "From Britain," was the answer. "Are the people
tians there?" he then inquired. "No; Pagans," he was
"Alas!" he said, "how grievous is it that faces fair as
should own subjection to the swarthy devil!" His next
ion was, "What do you call the tribe from which these
people spring?" "Angles," said the dealer. "Ah! that
l," the future pope rejoined. "Angels they are in coun-
ce, and coheirs of angels they ought to be. Where in
n do their kindred live?" "In Deira," was the reply.
ll again," Gregory said. "It is our duty to deliver them

from God's ire. Pray, who is the king of the land so significantly named." "Ella," replied the merchant. "Ah!" the pious inquirer added. "Allelujah must be sung in that man's country." His advancement to the papacy gave another direction to the zeal of Gregory. But the news of Bertha's marriage, and the establishment of Christian worship at Canterbury, again fired his zeal. The bishop of Constantinople had just then assumed, under the im on, the title of œcumenical, or universal bishop. Gr iate, styled himself servant of the servants of God; nterpoise to his eastern rival, was anxious, no doub his influence in an opposite direction. Britain pre nviting field; and he chose Augustine, prior of a at Rome, to undertake the mission. On his way aul, Augustine engaged the assistance of other mo he travelled northwards, the stories which he heard of the savage state and fierce habits of the Anglo-Saxons utterly disheartened him, and he wrote to his patron, asking permission to return. He was answered with a rebuke for his want of faith and courage, and commanded to proceed without delay. He landed in Kent in the year 597; and Ethelbert, already, perhaps, prepared for the change, was baptized in the ancient church of St. Martin. Augustine was provided with a residence at Canterbury, and assumed the episcopal office under the title of bishop of the English. He was consecrated bishop, it is said, by the archbishop of Arles. Gregory received the accounts of his success with exultation. Augustine boasted of the miracles he had performed. Gregory advised him, in return, to beware of spiritual conceit; but he encouraged the debasement of the infant Church, and the impostures or delusions of Augustine, by sending over a parcel of relics. They were accompanied with a gift of higher value—a Bible in two volumes, a psalter, a book of the gospels, another psalter, another book of the gospels, lives of the apostles, lives of martyrs, and a volume of expositions of certain gospels and epistles: thus at once laying the foundations of superstition, and providing the antidote. The Canterbury book, in the library of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, which supplies this interesting formation, closes the brief catalogue with these expressive wor *Hæc sunt primitiæ librorum totius ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*—T was the foundation of the literature of the Church of Engla

Gregory, about the same time, conferred the pall upon Augustine, and commissioned him to establish twelve suffragan bishops, and also to appoint an archbishop for the see of York, with jurisdiction over twelve other suffragans. Thus the episcopacy of the English Church was settled twelve hundred years ago nearly as it still exists. Augustine was now anxious to extend his authority to the primitive Church still existing in Wales; Ethelbert himself promoting the object only, as he said, for the sake of union, and to secure their co-operation in the great work of converting the Saxons. At this time the doctrines of the two Churches were the same; and, perhaps, the difficulty would not have been insuperable, fond as the native Christians were of their ancient usages and their independent constitution, derived immediately from apostolic teachers, had not the arrogance of Augustine disgusted them. The Welsh prelates, however, to the number of seven, with some of the superior clergy, were induced to attend a conference in Worcestershire, under the shade of a tree, long after known as Augustine's Oak. Augustine challenged the simple-minded Britons to determine their respective claims by an appeal to miraculous power. They at once admitted that to miraculous power they laid no claim. A blind man was produced. Augustine stepped forth and interceded with heaven for his cure. Immediately his vision was restored This occurred at a previous conference, and the minds of the too credulous Britons were much disturbed. On the eve of the second conference a pious hermit, as he is called, gave them wise advice. "Our Lord," said he (we are indebted to Bede for the interesting story), "hath commanded us, 'Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly.' Now take care to arrive late at the place of meeting, and after the stranger shall have taken his seat. If he shall rise to receive you, you may, perhaps, conclude that he is a follower of Christ; if he receives you sitting, have nothing to do with him." No test could have been more unfortunate for Augustine. He did not condescend to rise from his chair. "I ask," said he, "only three things from you: one, that you should keep Easter as we do; another, that you should baptize according to the Roman ritual; a third, that you should join us in preaching to the Angles. With your other peculiarities we shall patiently bear." The British clergy replied that they should consent to none of these demands; "nor will we," said

they, "receive you for our archbishop." "If so," exclaimed Augustine, "if you will not have peace with brethren, you shall have war with enemies. If you will not show your neighbours the way of life, their own swords shall avenge the wrong upon you." The Welsh regarded these words as a threat, the English as a prophecy. Soon afterwards twelve hundred British monks of the Great Monastery of Bangor were savagely put to death by Ethelfrid, a Saxon chieftain. It is in vain to inquire, in the absence of direct evidence, to what extent Augustine himself was implicated in the crime. From this time the ancient Church of Britain withered away. To this day the memory of the pious monks of Bangor is held in reverence among their native mountains; and in the College of Llampetre they show an ancient manuscript deeply stained with blood, which is said to have belonged to them on the fatal day of the massacre.

The gospel now extended its triumphs rapidly. The sister of Ethelbert became the wife of Sebert, king of the East Saxons, and his conversion followed. The sees of London and Rochester were filled by two of the companions of Augustine in his missionary enterprise. The West Saxons were chiefly converted by Birinius, a Roman monk, who filled the see of Dorchester. The kingdom of Northumberland received Christianity from Paulinus, who became archbishop of York. Sussex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, also, were indebted to the Church of Rome for their spiritual instructors. But Northumbria was conquered by Cadwalla, a British prince, and relapsed into Paganism. Eventually it was Christianized by a native ministry. Edwin, the king of the country, had taken refuge in Scotland during the invasion of Cadwalla, and there he became acquainted with the Christians who still existed in the islands of the Hebrides. He invited missionaries from their pure and simple communion. Aidan was appointed bishop of Llandisfarn, where he was succeeded by Finan and Colman, two native prelates unconnected with Rome; and thus the north of England was evangelized by means of a ministry entirely British. The kingdom of Mercia, dependent to some extent on its more powerful neighbour, received as its bishop Diuma, a Scot, who was consecrated by Finan, the prelate of Northumbria. Diuma's three successors were also members of the native Church; and under these three prelates all our midland counties were evangelized. Thus for some year

there were two rival Churches in England, one of which acknowledged the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, while the other, rejecting all foreign interference, derived its usages and orders from the primitive Church, which had existed obscure and oppressed, but still uninjured in its vital parts, ever since the days of the apostles. At length, however, A. D. 664, the Roman party triumphed. Her complete and final prevalence over the national Church is ascribed to female influence, and to the dexterity of her agents. Eanfleda, the granddaughter of Ethelbert and Bertha, married Oswy, king of Northumbria, and Bretwalda, and she was attached to the usages of Kent, her husband being equally zealous for those of the native Christians. Amongst other subjects in dispute between the two Churches was the proper time for the observance of Easter; and the royal household was divided, one party with the queen at its head observing the festivities of Easter, while the other was keeping Lent with austere devotion. At length Oswy consented to hear the question argued, as to the claims of the two Churches, by their respective clergy; and while Colman, bishop of Northumbria, and Chad, bishop of Essex, pleaded on behalf of the British Church, Wilfred appeared for Rome. As reported by Bede, and John of Tynemouth, who wrote, however, in the 14th century, nothing worthy of the name of argument was advanced on either side. The national divines insisted on a tradition originating, as they maintained, with St. John. Wilfred traced up the Roman tradition of the true Easter to St. Peter, adroitly intimating that he was intrusted with the keys of heaven. "And were they really intrusted to him?" said Oswy. "Undoubtedly," said Wilfred. "And can you," he continued, appealing to the British divines, "show any such grant?" Colman, with becoming integrity, admitted that he could not. "Then," said the king, "I must leave your party, for I must not disoblige him who keeps the key of heaven; I might be shut out when I seek admittance." It has been remarked on this (Soames' Hist. Anglo-Saxon Church), that unless we had been made acquainted with the habits of savage tribes, such as those of New Zealand North America, who reason just as childishly, the language would seem like jest rather than serious argument. But it was really applauded, the ancient usages of Britain were renounced, and from this day, and by these artifices, the Church

of Rome became paramount in England. Colman and many of his party were disgusted, and still retaining their independence returned home again to the Scottish Church.

It has been supposed, however, that the triumph of the Romish party involved little or no change in the creed of the English Church. Prayers and votive offerings to the saints were already practised; we have r[illegible]hat the other peculiarities of the Church of Rome [illegible]stablished. It is remarkable that, in this conferen[illegible] though he appealed to the authority of the Ro[illegible]leserving of respect, did not claim for it an absolu[illegible]. Indeed, Gregory the Great is known to have repu[illegible]uthority since claimed for his see, and to have disappro[illegible] adoration of images. He was fond of pomp and encou[illegible]gorgeous ceremonial, and laid undoubtedly the found[illegible] Romish system both in England and elsewhere. [illegible]ystem established under his auspices was widely different from that eventually sanctioned at Trent. Ritually the two were very much alike, though doctrinally very far apart. The earliest Anglo-Saxon Christians agreed essentially with their descendants since the Reformation in all but services for the dead.

During a period of about thirty years, the Anglo-Saxon Church was gradually established through the whole of England, under the primacy of Theodore, an eastern monk, sent hither by the pope, and on his decease under that of Wilfrid; and England now became a Christian commonwealth. Under Ina, king of the West Saxons, laws were passed which incorporated religion with the state, and recognized the obligations which Christianity imposes. Thus, unless a child were baptized within thirty days of its birth the father was fined as many shillings; if it died unbaptized he forfeited all his possessions: a slave working on Sunday by his lord's command was set free, and the lord was fined thirty shillings; if by his own choice he was whipped, or made to pay a sum of money. Altars were sacred, and before them slaves were to be released and oaths taken. Idolatrous sacrifices were forbidden, and sundry immunities were granted to the clergy. The laws of Ina contain the earliest enactm[illegible] with which we are acquainted for the support of public wors[illegible] An assessment upon houses now took the place of voluntary precarious contributions. Every house was to be valued

Christmas, and the rate, or *Church shot*, was payable at Martinmas. Money being scarce, the payment was made in kind, and defaulters were fined forty shillings. The Church shot, so often mentioned in Anglo-Saxon legislation, was the origin of the modern Church rate; which thus possesses, it would seem, a parentage of twelve hundred years. Few titles to existing property approach an era so remote. Tithes in England seem to be of still higher antiquity. The laws of Ina do not expressly recognise their existence, but it is known from other sources that they were paid in the time of Augustine himself (see Soames' Hist., note, p. 85); and the silence of this code may prove only that no difficulty was experienced by the clergy in enforcing the payment of them. The laws of Ina date from the year 693.

A profound gloom settles upon the ecclesiastical history of England from this period to the Norman conquest, relieved only at distant intervals by the virtues of a few great men, who deplored the ignorance they in vain attempted to dispel. Foremost in the list must be placed the venerable Bede, the historian to whom we are indebted for so large a portion of our acquaintance with the Anglo-Saxon Church. He was born in the modern bishopric of Durham, upon an estate belonging to the two abbeys of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Wearmouth and Jarrow, at the mouth of the river Tyne, about the year 677. We have his own authority that at seven years old he was brought to the monastery of St. Peter, and committed to the care of Benedict Biscop, the first abbot and founder, who possessed that rare treasure a library, of which the youth made good use. The young scholar completed his education under Ceolfrid, the second abbot. In his nineteenth year he was ordained deacon, but not till thirty did he become a priest, receiving orders, in both instances, from John of Beverley, bishop of Hexham, who had been one of his early preceptors. His fame now reached even to Rome, and Pope Sergius made an earnest application to the abbot that he might be sent to assist him in drawing up a code on some points of ecclesiastical discipline. Bede was attached to his studies and to his native land, and prayed to be excused. He continued to prosecute the narrow literature of his age through all its branches. He wrote much upon theology, and was long regarded by his countrymen as a great divine; but his extant writings consist of little more than digests and selections from the fathers. His

fame chiefly rests upon his "Ecclesiastical History," the materials for which were collected by himself with great care from the most trustworthy sources,—the annals preserved in various religious houses, the information of ecclesiastics and prelates with whom he conversed, and such chronicles as then existed. The work has been blamed by fastidious critics for the faults of the age in which the writer lived. Bede is sometimes credulous, and his notices of secular oc nces are loose and incidental. But he probably had no v ronicle the licentiousness and fraud and outrage which the sum of English history. Making allowance for some legi ry matter, the verdict of posterity has placed him at the hea of English ecclesiastical historians: few works have maintai d their reputation so long, or been so generally consulted by su ceeding writers. It was published, as Bede informs us, n ne was fifty-nine years of age, about A. D. 734. William iesbury and Symeon of Durham, two Saxon writers, have given an interesting relation of his death. He was attacked with asthma at Easter, and died on Ascension-day, seven weeks afterwards. During this interval he did not in the least abate his usual employments in the monastery, but continued to pray, to instruct the younger monks, and to prosecute the literary undertakings which were still in his hands. In the nights of his sickness, in which, from the nature of his disease, he had little sleep, he sang hymns and praises to God; and though he expressed the utmost confidence, and was able, on a review of his own conduct, to declare seriously that he had so lived as not to be afraid to die, yet he did not deny his apprehensions of death, and that dread which is natural to man at the approach of his dissolution. He was continually active to the last, and particularly anxious about two works,—the one, his translation of St. John's Gospel into the Saxon language,—the other, some passages which he was extracting from the works of St. Isidore. From the monks' relation it appears, that the day before his death he grew much worse, and his feet began to swell, yet he passed the night as usual, and continued dictating to the person who acted as his amanuensis, who, observing his weakness, said, "There remains now only chapter, but it seems difficult to you to speak." To which answered, "It is easy; take your pen, dip it in the ink, write as fast as you can." About nine o'clock he sent for s

of his brethren, priests of the monastery, to divide among them some incense, and other things of little value, which he had preserved in a chest. While he was speaking, the young man, Wilberch, who wrote for him, said, "Master, there is now but one sentence wanting;" upon which he bid him write quick; and soon after the scribe said, "Now it is finished." To which he replied, "Thou hast said the truth, 'consummatum est;' take up my head; I wish to sit opposite to the place where I have been accustomed to pray, and where now sitting I may invoke my Father." Being thus seated, according to his desire, upon the floor of his cell, he said, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;" and as he pronounced the last word he expired. He died, according to the best opinion, May 26th, 735, though the exact date has been contested. His body was interred in the church of his own monastery at Jarrow, but long afterwards was removed to Durham, and placed in the same coffin or chest with that of St. Cuthbert, as appears by a very ancient Saxon poem on the relics preserved in the cathedral of Durham, printed at the end of Symeon of Durham's history.

The reign of Offa, the Mercian king, is memorable as the period when the connection between the English Church and Rome, and the supremacy of the latter, was first avowed. Since the days of Augustine no agent bearing a papal commission had set foot in Britain. Offa, who had won his way to the island sovereignty through a sanguinary career, was anxious for the friendship of the papal court to consolidate his power and possibly to soothe his conscience. Two papal legates, Theophylact, bishop of Todi, and Gregory, bishop of Ostia, were admitted as accredited agents of the papal see. At a council held at Calcuith, or Chalk, in Kent, where they were present, Lichfield, the ancient Mercian see, was created an archbishopric, and a body of canons was subscribed which the legates had propounded. The English Church yielded a solemn affirmation to the first six general councils, one of which, the recent Council of Nice, had sanctioned image worship. At the Council of Calcuith it is probable that the British clergy were very imperfectly informed on this point; for when Adrian, the pope, transmitted the decrees of Nice to Offa, they were received by the prelates with surprise and indignation. Alcuin, an English divine, was requested to draw up a vindica-



tion of their faith and practice, and the British clergy denounced the worship of images *as that which God's Church abhors.* Alcuin described the worship of images as a Gentile tradition. It is, said he, a Satanic device by which triumphs gained in the open fields are likely to be lost within the city walls. Even the lighting of tapers and the burning of incense before images and pictures are condemned. Yet, no doubt with a view still to conciliate the Church of Rome, he admits of outward acts of veneration to the cross and the relics of the saints, and of prayers, masses, and almsgivings for the dead. From the same source we learn that confession, fasting, and penances, as an atonement for sin, had found their way into the Saxon Church. To Offa we owe the abbey of St. Albans and the tribute of Peter's pence, long paid by every English family to Rome. In his old age he became a devotee, and founded the magnificent abbey, to England's proto-martyr, at St Albans. Not satisfied with this, he visited Rome, and settled on the English college there the contribution of a penny from every family in his dominions. From this donation arose the payment of Rome scot, afterwards called Peter's pence, which continued till the Reformation.

The irruption of the Scandinavian tribes, and the harassed state of Britain in consequence, brought Christianity once more to the verge of ruin. Religion degenerated into the meanest superstition, or was extirpated by fire and sword. We have at length a few gleams of light, and a short season of comparative repose, in the reign of Alfred. His history is too well known to be repeated here. His own account of the ignorance of his subjects describes a kingdom imperfectly reclaimed from barbarism, distracted by civil feuds, and at last overrun by foreign savages. South of the Thames, not a priest could read; south of the Humber scarcely any could translate the Latin mass into the common tongue. Alfred himself had been twice sent to Rome, the centre of civilization, when a boy; yet in his twelfth year he had not been taught to read, and he had grown up to manhood before he mastered Latin. His victories gave peace for a time to England; and a considerable colony of the conquered Danes were settled in the Eastern and Midland Counties, and compelled to embrace the faith. Alfred conceived the noble design of founding a native literature. He translated into the Anglo-Saxon dialect the History of Bede, originally drawn up in Latin.

For the use of the clergy he translated *Pope Gregory's Pastoral*, a text-book on the subject of penance: and he rendered into the vernacular tongue some portions at least of the Holy Scriptures. Having made a digest of the laws of Ina and Offa, and those of Ethelbert, the Christian king of Kent, he laid it before his *Witan*, and obtained their sanction for it. In his treaty with the Danish colonists, he stipulates for the payment of tithes, Rome shot, and some other dues of the Church—plough alms and light shot. It is probable that England, about this period, was pretty generally assuming that parochial form of ecclesiastical distribution which, with a remarkably small number of alterations, it still wears. Justinian, the emperor, had encouraged the building and endowing of churches by securing the patronage to the owner of the estate. Theodore had offered the same encouragement in England, and wealthy proprietors were thus tempted to supply the spiritual wants of their tenantry. Bede mentions some instances where nobles, in the north of England, had built churches on their estates under this inducement. Still the poorer, or less religious, landlords hung back. Under Alfred, there can be no doubt, a great number of parishes were formed. His grandson, Athelstan, perhaps completed the work. He gave the dignity of *thane* to every *churl* who should build a church of his own upon his estate. But later still, A.D. 1008, the two archbishops of Canterbury and York enjoin the duty of building churches. The ravages of the Danes had, no doubt, wasted many a parish; and many churches, for the most part structures of wood, had been destroyed, and in some parts of the kingdom the division of parishes might not even then have been carried into effect; yet the work must have advanced rapidly, for at the Conquest it seems to have been complete.

Our veneration for the name of Alfred must not blind us to the fact that his devotion to the cause of Rome inflicted lasting injuries upon the British Church. He strictly enforced the payment of the Roman *shot*, and in his code of laws, prefaced by the decalogue, he found no place for the second commandment; thus crouching before the rising superstition of the second Council of Nice. He must bear the reproach of naturalizing amongst his heretofore reluctant countrymen its insidious decrees. His relation and spiritual adviser, St. Neot, was an enthusiast in behalf of Rome; he is said to have visited the city seven times

"in honour of Christ and St. Peter." Alfred partook of the same superstitious feeling, and accepted from the pope as a priceless gift the present of a piece of the true cross. But he defended Erigena, whom Rome denounced as a heretic for resisting the dogma of transubstantiation, then first introduced; and if his creed cannot be identified with that of the Church of England since the Reformation, still less can he be claimed as a supporter of the modern Church of Rome. Collier, a Church historian of the last century, has remarked that notwithstanding Alfred's courtesies to the Church of Rome, he received from her few compliments in return; "learned men sent to assist him in his scheme for the revival of arts and sciences; no legates; no interposings in the ecclesiastical regulations of the Church; no bulls of privilege for the Archbishops of Winchester and Athelney. From all which we may conclude that the correspondence was not very close, and that the affairs of the English Church were not servilely governed by that see." (Eccl. Hist. i. 171.)

Religious houses in great numbers had long existed among the Anglo-Saxons. The monks who inhabited them were not however subject to the strict discipline of the cloister, nor in many instances bound by vows of celibacy, or of entire separation from the world. They were rather colleges, or missionary schools, than monasteries. But the ascetic principle, firmly rooted in the East, was now spreading itself over all the Churches of Western Christendom. St. Benedict instituted his famous order at Monte Cassino, near Rome, about the year 532. The superior austerities of the Benedictine monks, contrasted with the careless lives and general ignorance of the secular clergy, gained for them the highest reputation. It was some time before the system was known in England, or, however, generally received. But as the Benedictines gave all their influence to support the growing pretensions of the papacy, aspiring churchmen, naturally anxious to escape from the authority of secular princes, threw their weight into the scale, and encouraged the rising order of popular ascetics, in order to depress the secular power. In England the struggle for ascendency was managed by the celebrated Dunstan, assisted by Odo, a name scarcely less dear to Rome. These men impressed new features upon the Saxon Church, and brought it into a closer dependence on the Church of Rome. Dunstan was born in the reign of Athelstan, probably

in the year 925. His parents ranked among the nobility of Wessex, and lived near Glastonbury; his maternal uncle, Adhelm, was archbishop of Canterbury, and by him he was introduced at the court of Athelstan. His birth and connexions, to say nothing of high talents, were sufficient to procure him a favourable reception. He became at once the intimate companion of the king; but suddenly his fortunes were overcast; the courtiers, envious of his influence, charged him, it is said, with magical arts, and Dunstan, in disgust, returned to Glastonbury. Here a decayed monastery still existed; he assumed the monkish habit, and devoted his life to the cause of St. Dominic and the Church. On the death of Athelstan, Dunstan was reinstated in the favour of his brother and successor Edmund, who rebuilt the monastery upon a scale of vast magnificence, and appointed Dunstan first abbot. About the same time, Odo was translated from Sherbourne to Canterbury. By birth a pagan and a Dane, he had passed over to the extremes of monastic asceticism. A great synod, held in London about this time, shows that the monkish principle was now rooting itself in England. The king was admonished to make provision for the Church; and ecclesiastics, of both sexes, breaking their vows of chastity, were laid under the pain of forfeiting their property, and being deprived of Christian burial. A severe struggle now arose between the monks and the old clergy. The latter were driven either to assume the cowl or to relinquish their homes and livings. The cathedrals, which had heretofore been administered by deans and chapters, were converted into monasteries; and when the old tenants were reluctant, fraud or violence were not wanting to bring about the transformation. Oswald, a Benedictine, nephew to Odo, was placed in the see of Worcester, and immediately set about the accomplishment of the favourite scheme. But his canons resisted the change; and Oswald, unable to subdue their repugnance to the monkish in preference to the ancient system, planted a rival house near his rebellious chapter, and filled it with Benedictines. The appearance of greater sanctity in the monks, and their bold pretensions to miraculous gifts, filled their chapel and their almschest, while the neighbouring cathedral was deserted. The canons at length gave way; a monastery succeeded to the former *minster* (so the cathedral body was termed), and Oswald became the prior. This is said to have been the first of these inno-

vations, and the process of converting a chapel into a monastery was called Oswald's law. Edgar now filled the throne; he seems to have yielded himself up to the direction of Dunstan and his party; and during his short reign of about two years, upwards of forty monasteries were founded.

On the death of Odo, A. D. 959, Dunstan became archbishop of Canterbury. His renown for sanctity was great; his sagacity placed him before the age [illegible] he lived; and the monkish party were always at han[illegible]port his claims, whether to miraculous gifts or uncont[illegible]hority. From his retirement at Glastonbury marvell[illegible] accounts were repeated of his visible conflicts with the devil, from w[illegible] the fiend fled in shame and dismay. It has been suggested that his mind was at times deranged, and that he was [illegible]im of delusions which, when repeated to the credulous [illegible]de, raised him in their esteem to the highest order of sa[illegible], both for miracles and grace. The well-known story of his seizing the tempter by the nose and dragging him about with a pair of red-hot pincers, is gravely told by the monkish writers. Dunstan does not appear to us to have been a man of lofty virtue, or of great integrity. He was the slave of that ecclesiastical ambition by which even powerful minds are warped and degraded. If he did not himself publish abroad his supernatural feats, he was more than willing that his sycophants should undertake the task; and, by a just reprisal, we owe to his monkish eulogists our acquaintance with the worst actions of his life. The monk Osbern, in his life of this famous saint, relates the following story: a witan was held at Winchester to determine the differences between the parochial clergy and the monastic party, at which Edgar the king presided. Dunstan alleged heavy complaints against the married clergy, but the nobles were against him; they expressed their readiness to punish real criminals, but they felt no disposition to compel celibacy, or, as the alternative, expel the married clergy. Edgar himself was on the point of giving way, when a crucifix exclaimed, "God forbid that this thing should be done." The whole assembly fell prostrate, and the crucifix again exclaimed, but only so that Edgar and Dunstan could distinguish the sounds, "Arise and fear not, for to-day justice and peace have kissed each other in the person of the monks." If such a scene really took place, ventriloquism furnishes an easy solution of the

tery. It is certain that the canons were expelled; for soon rwards, under a reaction of the national feeling, the ıks were in their turn ejected from their new abodes. A vast ult arose through the whole of England; and a council was ımoned at Calne, in Wiltshire, to determine the question. rnhelm, a bishop of the ancient British Church, was sum- ıed from Scotland to argue the cause of the married clergy. ı council appeared to feel the weight of his arguments, or the 'er of his eloquence, when suddenly the floor of the chamber e way and several were killed upon the spot. The archbishop his party, or, according to some authorities, the archbishop ıe, escaped unhurt, the floor beneath him remaining firm. ether this were fraud or accident the monkish party turned o good account. It was a clear intimation of the will of ven, and the cause of Beornhelm was lost. One by one the ıedrals gave way, and the ancient canons were ejected; and system of St. Dominic took firm root in England. Dunstan ired A.D. 988: the Danes were renewing their incursions, and ıelred the sovereign was but a boy. One of the last acts of nstan's life was to place the crown upon his head at Kingston. foresaw the miseries which his country was likely to feel, and biographers thought that when he described them in his ng words he spoke by inspiration.

From this period to the Conquest the Anglo-Saxon Church ı in a state of gradual decay. A ferocious warfare desolated heart of England. The whole kingdom of ancient Kent, ere learning and religion had their firmest seat, was a scene slaughter and devastation. Wales and Cornwall, the British annel, the Severn, and the Thames, were covered with Danish ts and armies. At length England was again divided, and nute the Dane, with his pagan followers, took possession of ı northern and central parts. Soon afterwards, A. D. 1018, he ceeded to the whole kingdom, on the death of Edmund the ron king. Through the wise conduct of Canute, the Danes l Saxons appear to have coalesced with a rapidity almost known in the history of a conquered and conquering people. e Danes accepted the religion of their adopted country; and en the Saxon race was restored in the person of Edward the nfessor, the Church found in him a devoted friend. The nder of Westminster Abbey, and the man who practised in

the palace the discipline of the cloister, must have been in heart a Benedictine. But the struggle had come to an end, and the ancient British Church was beginning to assume the outward badges of a dependency of Rome. A new danger threatened her in the introduction of Norman ecclesiastics. The Confessor had been brought up in France. He and his courtiers spoke in French. French monks were placed in various bishoprics and even at Canterbury. l passions were aroused, and the archbishop was d and Stigand, a Saxon, now bishop of Winchester, w d to that high dignity, which he held till the Conque too was displaced in favour of a Norman.

Amongst the peculiari Saxon Church must be mentioned abstinence from t ngled and from blood; even the water into which suc ad fallen was unclean. The Sunday was observed w respect. It began at three o'clock on Saturday afternoon and continued till daylight on Monday morning. In her testimony against transubstantiation, the ancient Church of England never wavered. The papal supremacy was never formally acknowledged; confession was habitual, but the Romish doctrine of absolution was rejected. Prayers were offered for the dead and relics were revered. In later times purgatory seems to have crept in, and the wealthy left at death a provision for their soul shot. They made use of the ordeal by fire, walking over burning ploughshares, just as the ancient Greeks, from whom indeed the practice was probably derived. The Church was regarded with great reverence; as a sanctuary, it was inviolate. Divine service was performed with much decorum; the service being that in substance which was retained in England till the Reformation. Organs were in use in the seventh century; in the tenth, one of magnificent size was set up in the new cathedral of Winchester. The Anglo-Saxons, it has commonly been supposed, were provided with a complete vernacular translation of Holy Scripture. No such volume has, however, been discovered; hence its existence, at any time, is very questionable. The Bible, in fact, was evidently considered a Latin book in Ante-Norman England. The whole framework of Anglo-Saxon society was religious. The prelacy constituted an essential part of the witanagemot, and in every great national council, archbishops, bishops, and abbots appear.

e bishop and the alderman, or earl, sat together as judges, ring for their assessors the thanes, or gentry, of the shire, and ir decisions could be reversed only by the king. At first h kingdom of the heptarchy formed a single see; but as the nts of the Church increased the number of bishoprics was en-ged. At the Conquest there were two archbishops and thirteen hoprics, most of which are still in existence. Yet Elfin, e of the latest writers of the Anglo-Saxon Church, A. D. 1014, careful to inform us that between the presbytery and epis-ate there is no other difference but that of office; bishops ing especially charged with certain duties which might inter-e with the regular engagements of ordinary priests. These ties are stated to be, ordination, confirmation, the consecrating churches, and the care of God's rights. The ecclesiastical lers in the Church he pronounces to be seven—oxtiary, reader, orcist, acolyte, sub-deacon, deacon, and priest. The ostiary is to keep the church doors, and to ring the bell. The reader is to read in church, and to preach God's word. Perhaps the customed homily was often heard from his lips. The exorcist is to adjure malignant spirits. The acolyte was to hold the ndle or taper, when the gospel was read, or the eucharist llowed. The sub-deacon was to carry the vessels to the acon, and to wait upon him at the altar. The deacon was to ait upon the officiating priest, to place the offerings upon the tar, and to read the gospel. He might baptize and administer e eucharist. Another writer omits the acolytes, and intro-uces bishops as the highest order. It has been inferred from is, that the controversy which still exists, namely, whether iscopacy be a separate order or only a distinguished office, was t unknown to our Saxon ancestors.

Such then was the Anglo-Saxon Church; until overridden by alian intrigue, a pure and apostolic Church. It surrendered independence reluctantly, and was subdued by force and ud. Its story is simply told by its own historians—the nerable Bede, in his history; by Asser, bishop of St David's, in Annals; by the writers of the Saxon Chronicle (which pears to be the work of several hands); by Florence of Wor-ster—these were contemporaries; or, in our own day, by ames, in his History of the Anglo-Saxon Church.

At the Conquest, the religious state of England was such as a hundred years of invasions, wars, and revolutions, would teach us to expect. William of Malmesbury, who was born A.D. 1096, bears a mournful testimony to the sad condition of his country. Even before the Norman Conquest, learning and religion had fallen into profound neglect. The clergy, contented with a little superficial instruction, could scarcely stammer through the words by which a sacrament w ted; and he who understood the elements of gramma ligy. The monks treated the rules of their order w they wore fine clothes, and indulged themselves in e al gratification. The nobles were addicted to drunken luttony. Instead of a devout observance of the Sunday a so scrupulously hallowed by their forefathers, the for s spent in bed; and if they hurried to church it was e service gabbled over by an impatient priest, anxiou . The commons were a prey to the nobles; were deprived of their property by their oppressions, or else driven from the country. Drunkenness was common to all classes, and sloth and effeminacy followed. The refusal of Stigand to crown the Conqueror was a sufficient pretext, though several others were alleged, for depriving him of his mitre, and subjecting the Anglo-Saxon Church to an Italian archbishop. A synod was held at Winchester, A.D. 1070, at which two cardinals from Rome were present, and Lanfranc was chosen to the primacy. Hildebrand, under the title of Gregory VII., now sat upon the papal throne; he had encouraged William in his enterprise, and sent him a consecrated banner, to which superstition assigned no little share of his success; and he requested the Conqueror, in return, to do fealty for his newly-gotten crown and kingdom. William refused, in a tone which, for a time at least, put an end to such ambitious projects in the breast of Hildebrand himself. His letter is interesting and important, as it shows the precise footing on which the English Church was re-established under the Normans. William declares his willingness to send the tribute which had previously been paid to the papal see; and he promises that, for the future, it shall be paid with more regularity. But as to the fealty, "I never consented, nor wi consent to it," he replies, "for I neither promised to do so, can I find that my predecessors ever did it to your predecess Pray for us and for the good estate of our kingdom, because we

ved your predecessors, and we desire, above all things, to
d listen obediently to you—*et vos præ omnibus sincerè*
e et obedienter audire desideramus." William, in fact,
ourteous to the pope, was determined that in spiritual, as
lar, things, he would acknowledge no superior. He re-
the ancient custom of the Saxon kings, investing bishops
bots with full possession of their dignities by delivering
g and staff. Lanfranc, presuming on the favour he
l, requested the patronage of the abbey of St. Augustine
erbury, and was refused; the king remarking, that "he
keep all the staves in his own hand." Fuller quaintly
wiser herein than his successors, who parted with those
wherewith they themselves were beaten afterwards."
ist. ii. 17.) He refused to allow the papal bulls or letters
e to be received, except they had been first submitted to,
proved of, by himself; and his own archbishop in council
able to act in any matter without his express permission;
tly, would he suffer his nobles to be excommunicated for
atest crimes without his previous knowledge and free
. On the other hand, he confirmed by charter a law of
l the Confessor, granting to the clergy tithe of cattle and
in addition to the ancient tithe of produce. He made an
nt alteration in the courts of justice, which led to conse-
s little foreseen by the sagacious Norman. Hitherto the
and the bishop sat together in the county court as joint
trators of the law. William abrogated this ancient
; and assigned the bishops a sole jurisdiction by them-
in courts of their own, having cognizance of all causes
to religion. These new courts were administered by
rs; for, in a short time, the high ecclesiastical appoint-
fell, with rare exceptions, into the hands of Italians, or
stics of Norman blood. They had little acquaintance
xon law, and no respect whatever for its traditions; but
verence for the papal court was profound, and its usages
nciples of justice became, of necessity, their model. Soon
rds the pandects of Justinian became generally known
, and formed the basis of what was termed the canon law.
e came to have in England two sets of courts, administer-
tice upon two sets of principles; the secular courts of
and common law, tracing up their parentage to Saxon

legislation, and the ecclesiastical courts, deriving their principles from the institutions of the Roman empire. While the power of the sheriff and bishop went hand in hand together in the same court, neither could much outstrip the other; but when they were severed, the spiritual power soon began to domineer: the aim of the prelates was, for centuries, to extend the powers of their own courts, and as a means thereto, to cripple the secular jurisdictions. [illegible] took firm root in England through the influence of [illegible]; and we owe the Reformation, five hundred years [illegible] Conquest, in no small degree to the disgust which the [illegible] these spiritual courts occasioned among all ranks [illegible] Whether William intended to restrain the power of [illegible] or to augment their dignity, when he broke down the [illegible]ourts and put an end to the mixed jurisdiction, may, [illegible]dmit of some doubt, though the monkish chroniclers [illegible]it with grateful admiration; but it was, in fact, the first of many causes which wearied the nation of the papal yoke, and at length achieved the Reformation.

The ambitious projects of the Roman pontiffs during the reign of William, though sometimes checked, were upon the whole successful. Lanfranc, with Thomas, elect archbishop of York, and Remigius of Lincoln, went to Rome, to receive from the pope the confirmation of their preferment. And now the warfare between the monks and the regular clergy was again revived. Walkeline, bishop of Winchester, with the concurrence of the king and the nobles, would have restored the regular clergy, and had, indeed, reinstated many in his diocese. Lanfranc violently expelled them, and obtained from the pope an edict in his own favour. In a council at Winchester, held in the year 1076, it was provided, that, although married priests should not be compelled to divorce their wives, marriage for the future should be forbidden to men in holy orders, and that no man should be ordained if already married. The celibacy of the clergy was now made a favourite dogma with the Church of Rome.

The intrusion of foreign ecclesiastics was, of course, distasteful to the English clergy. Sometimes they were refused admission. At Glastonbury, Thurstan, the Norman abbot, attempting to introduce a new liturgy, was resisted by the monks. Soldiers were brought in, and the monks fought them with such weapons,

candlesticks and crucifixes, as the church offered. Much blood was spilt and several monks were killed. The abbot was deposed and banished; but this affair produced, for a time, uniformity in the Liturgy of England. Osmund, bishop of Salisbury, prepared a form which was universally adopted, and the *use of Sarum* became the practice of the English Church. Nor was this a single instance. Most of the Norman abbots had been intruded on the monasteries without any regard to the rights or feelings of their predecessors. They were often men who had been as much used to the camp as the cloister, and broils ending in bloodshed were not uncommon. Thorald, of Fescamp, was thus intruded on the abbey of Malmesbury though Brightric was still living. His quarrelsome temper induced William to transfer him to the abbey of Borough, which was infested by a band of marauders under the still unconquered Hereward, the Saxon chieftain. "Since he shows himself," said the king, "more of a soldier than an abbot, I will find his match for him; let him find sport in fighting Hereward as long as he pleases." Wolstan, the old bishop of Worcester, was commanded to resign his dignity. He was a prelate of high esteem among his countrymen, a devout man full of simplicity and truth. He refused to give up his ring and crosier to any living man, when summoned to do so in Westminster Abbey; then, walking up to the shrine of Edward the Confessor, he solemnly presented them to the tomb of his departed lord, by whom they had been bestowed. His conduct won the favour of the king, and he was allowed to retain his bishopric. He died at a venerable age, A. D. 1095; "faulty," says an old writer, "not in his conversation, but country, because an Englishman born; it was laid to his charge that he could not speak French"—a curious circumstance, as showing the current of the times.

Wolstan assisted Lanfranc at the coronation of Rufus. Rufus was needy and profligate, irreligious, and scarcely even superstitious. On the death of Lanfranc he kept the see vacant for some years to replenish his treasury. The bishoprics of Winchester and Durham were also kept vacant, with many of the wealthier abbeys, and when filled up, large sums were paid for the appointments. At length, after a vacancy of six years, Anselm succeeded to the primacy A. D. 1093. He is said to have fallen under the king's displeasure soon afterwards, for

having refused him a present of a thousand pounds. Rufus having purchased the dukedom of Normandy from his brother Robert, who abandoned it to enter upon a crusade, imposed a heavy tax, from which even churchmen were not exempt. The monks were compelled to sell the church plate and sacramental vessels, nay, to part with the gold and silver from the shrines and relics, to satisfy his extortion; and when they complained, he jested ... ealth misused—"You have coffins of gold and silver ... men's bones." He was certainly no favourite ... gy; and they regarded his death in the New Forest ... ous judgment. It is possible they may have exaggera... ces, but religion in England owes nothing to his care.

His brother Henry (Be... or the times an accomplished scholar and a man of r... es, succeeded to the throne. Under him many useful ... t place. A synod was held at Westminster, and at Anselm's request the chief nobility were invited—"that whatsoever should be agreed upon by the said council might be ratified and observed by the joint care and study of both estates." The acts of this synod, A.D. 1102, have reference chiefly to the discipline of the clergy, and show the state of morals that generally prevailed. Priests are forbidden public drinking-bouts and the rivalry of intemperance; the finery of their clothing is retrenched, and long hair forbidden. Crimes of the most detestable kind appear to have been not uncommon, and are punished with excommunication; and, above all, the marriage of the clergy is again denounced. The struggle for pre-eminence between the pope and the secular power was now beginning to distract every Catholic nation of Europe, and Henry was compelled to take his part in the general quarrel. In England, as elsewhere, the sovereign had always claimed the right of investiture, or of choosing from the clerical body his own dignitaries without consulting the pope. The first canon of 1102 decrees that simony be severely punished; and several abbots who were charged with this crime were deposed. But by simony, Anselm meant investiture by the civil ruler, and an opportunity occurred for trying the question with the king. Henry invested with the usual signs of office, the ring and crosier, William of Winchester, Roger of Hereford, and some others; and commanded Anselm, as archbishop, to consecrate them to their bishoprics. Pope

Urban had, however, recently decreed that lay investitures were simoniacal and therefore void, and Anselm refused. The king requested Gerard, archbishop of York, to consecrate, seeing that the primate was contumacious, and he was willing to give compliance. But the bishop of Winchester was scrupulous; he could receive consecration only from Canterbury. Thus confusion was introduced amongst the anti-papal party; and Henry was at length compelled to send Anselm to Rome to consult with the papal court. The pope forbade him to return until the point was yielded, and, in revenge, the king seized upon his temporalities. The affair ended with the king's submission, still, however, on condition that no prelate should be deprived for doing homage to the sovereign. Thus one prime article of the independence of the English Church was sacrificed. A late writer has upon the subject the following just remarks:—"Be it recorded to the honour of the English clergy that they zealously opposed this surrender of the royal privilege, and through the entire struggle opposed Anselm's unconstitutional aggressions. We owe the subjection of our Church to the papal usurpations chiefly to the Normans, and other foreigners, who were promoted to the see of Canterbury. Lanfranc and Anselm, both Italians by birth, idolised by the pope, were eager enough to advance the power of the papal see, and their own influence with it. And they used these opportunities at this particular time, whilst three parties, the king, the prelates, and the nobles, were contending in the state, all nearly equal in strength, and when the union of any two of them would be more than a match for the third. Had Henry then at this time opposed the pope's unjust aggressions, he would have subjected himself and his land to an interdict, and so have given immense advantages to his opponents, particularly his brother Robert, with whom many of the nobles had already taken part, but whom Anselm and the clergy, and the English portion of his subjects, had firmly opposed. Hence Henry's constant endeavour to temporise with Anselm, and to gain time by sending frequently to Rome. He dared not openly reject Anselm, who would then at once have pronounced sentence of excommunication against the king. And the pope and the prelates on their parts would not proceed to such lengths against the king at once, through fear of his power and determination. Therefore both parties avoided as long as

they could coming to an open trial of strength." (Editor's note in Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. ii. p. 84, Oxford, 1845.) The papal encroachments continue from this time the fruitful theme of Church historians. In the turbulent reign of Stephen, A. D. 1136, Henry of Blois, Stephen's brother, and archbishop of Canterbury, was appointed legate; abbeys were founded with rich endowments; and, as the monastic rule was more strict, the monks became more i- , ey had less of the character of citizens and Englishmen re of that of priests and de- pendents upon Rome. l, too, from the control of the laws, they dwelt in then houses, defying at their will the restraints of public opin..., morals, and of modesty. The most atrocious crimes were com tted by the clergy with equal effrontery and security. Henry II., who ascended the throne A. D. 1154, found the kingdom in this condition: the clergy forming an imperium in imper , governed by its own laws and officers; perfectly safe, in its supposed sanctity, from the assaults of the laity, yet still encroaching upon the rights, and invading the happiness, of the commons and even of the higher gentry of the realm. Thus was brought about another crisis in the history of the English Church, and eventually her deeper thraldom to the papacy.

With some bright exceptions, the English clergy were vulgar men, wanting manners, learning, or true piety. William of Newbury tells us that within a few years of the king's accession at least a hundred murders had been committed by priests, whose tonsure was a sufficient security for their persons, and did, in fact, exempt them from every kind of punishment. At last a monk in the diocese of Worcester seduced a young lady, and, to conceal his guilt, murdered her father. Stupid as it was, public indignation was aroused, and the king resolved to try the delinquent and punish him by law. Becket now appears upon the stage, already raised to the archbishopric of Canterbury. He did not hesitate to oppose himself to the will of his sovereign and the just indignation of the laity. He insisted on the privileges of the Church, seized the criminal in order to secure him from the king, and merely pronounced the sentence of degradation. Henry reasonably demanded that, now that he was again a layman, he should be tried by the secular magistrate. Becket refused to comply. Quarrels of a similar kind were frequent

though seldom, it may be hoped, involving crimes of so much atrocity. A clerk killed and stole a deer, and again the struggle was repeated between the two jurisdictions. Henry, at once to set at rest these differences, which now seriously impeded the administration of justice, and, if possible, to reduce the clergy once more to their ancient boundaries, assembled the national parliament, or council of Clarendon, in January, 1164. The barons and the superior clergy were convened, and, after much opposition from Becket, the famous *Constitutions of Clarendon* were passed. They were sixteen in all; and we cannot read them without surprise that Henry should have had the courage to propose, and still more the power to carry, a series of measures so fatal to the encroachments of the clerical party. His character was resolute and his abilities great; and he must have been highly popular with his subjects, who, it seems, were ready to brave the displeasure of their spiritual leaders under the guidance of the king. Amongst other articles the following were agreed upon:—That all suits concerning the advowson and presentation of churches should be determined in the civil courts. That the churches belonging to the king's fee should not be granted in perpetuity without his consent. That clerks accused of any crime should be tried in the civil courts. That no person, particularly no clergyman, of any rank, should depart the kingdom without the king's licence. That excommunicated persons should not be bound to give security for continuing in their present place of abode. That laics should not be accused in spiritual courts, except by legal and reputable promoters and witnesses. That no chief tenant of the crown should be excommunicated, nor his lands put under an interdict, except with the king's consent. That all appeals in spiritual causes should be carried from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the primate, from him to the king; and should be carried no further without the king's consent. That goods forfeited to the king should not be protected in churches or churchyards. That the clergy should no more pretend to the right of enforcing payment of debts contracted by oath or promise; but should leave these lawsuits, as well as others, to the determination of the civil courts. And that the sons of villains should not be ordained clerks without the consent of their lord.

On the Constitutions of Clarendon the reflection of Sir James

Mackintosh is probably just: "If the king had obtained a victory, Europe would have been the prey of the men of the sword; if Becket had succeeded, the clergy would have established a despotism more lasting, more searching, and more debasing, though possibly more mild and regular." It was with difficulty that Becket was induced to put his seal to the Constitutions; but the clergy were overawed. The bishops implored him not to ruin their cause by a fruitless [illegible]acy; and at length he took an oath to obey the Constitutions. The pope, however, who was then in France, received the [illegible]was natural, with the utmost indignation, and forthwith an[illegible] them. Becket eagerly seized the opportunity, retracted his co[illegible]ssions, performed the severest penances to atone for his betr[illegible]l of the Church, and desisted from his episcopal functions [illegible]e could assure himself of the pope's forgiveness. Henry was [illegible]ous, and summoned the archbishop to appear at Northampton before his great council to answer for various misdemeanours, and refund sums of money which he was charged with having embezzled. The conduct of Henry became, even for times like these, oppressive and unjust. A heavy fine was imposed, which Becket was unable or unwilling to pay. He fled into France, where he was well received by the king, and treated with the utmost distinction by the pope. For five years he remained abroad, defying his master, and hurling anathemas against the recreant clergy and bishops who had submitted to the Constitutions: solemnly cursing with bell, book, and candle, in the church of Vezeley, all the maintainers of the customs, called in the realm of England, *the customs of their elders*. His cause, he maintained, was the cause of God. Christ, he said, in his own case, was again tried before a lay tribunal. Henry began to feel alarm. Becket's popularity had returned, for he was regarded as a sufferer for the Church; and the king's violence towards him had done much to restore him to the affections of the people, whose sympathies always go with the oppressed. Louis of France was jealous of Henry's increasing power and greatness, and would have been glad, it was supposed, if the pope could be induced to excommunicate the king of England, and lay the nation beneath an interdict. He attempted to procure an interview with the pope; but failing this, he had recourse to violence. He again sequestered revenues of Canterbury, expelled the retainers of the archbis

he number of four hundred, forbade his subjects to make any
eals to the pope or archbishop, or, under the penalties of
son, to introduce a papal interdict. His terrors were betrayed
is violence. He made all his subjects swear to observe these
rs; and threatened to punish, by the loss of their eyes, the
utation of their feet, and other mutilations, those of the
gy who should dare to disobey. The pope hesitated to strike
last blow: he sent nuncios, or legates, into France to
avour to compose the differences which, by crushing the
of England, might render France too powerful: or, driving
to despair, might lead him into an alliance with the emperor
ermany, with whom he was himself at war. Henry crossed
to France to meet the legates in the presence of Becket and
French king. Becket refused to submit to his terms, except
a reservation in favour of the honour of God and the rights
oly Church, which would, of course, have made any submission
e. "There have," said Henry, "been many kings of Eng-
, some greater than myself, some less; and there have been
y archbishops of Canterbury, good and holy men, who de-
ed all reverence. Now let this man pay to me the same
nission which the greatest of his predecessors have paid to
least of mine, and I am satisfied." But the conference failed,
the king returned home. At last a compromise was effected.
170 Becket returned to his diocese, under a general agree-
t to hold it as his predecessors had done, and without express
nission to the statutes of Clarendon. His progress through
t was a march of triumph: at London, not only the clergy,
men of all ranks, came out to meet him in a religious pro-
on, chanting litanies and thanksgivings. His first act was
iblish a sentence of suspension upon the archbishop of York,
to excommunicate the bishops of London and Salisbury, and
al of the great barons, who had taken part with the king;
he refused to take the oath of homage for his barony. The
offence of these prelates was their having assisted at the
nation of Prince Henry, the king's son, during Becket's
nce; for, apprehensive of being excommunicated, the king
availed himself of an expedient not uncommon in those
s, for securing his crown to his descendants, and so prevent-
the confusion which Becket, in his wrath, was anxious to
duce. The prelates fled to the king at Baieux; and the

archbishop of York is said to have uttered the natural but unwise remark, that while Becket lived there would be no peace for England. Roused to the highest pitch, Henry exclaimed that he was "a miserable man, who could not be at rest in his own realm by reason of only one priest." "There is no one," said he, "to deliver me out of my troubles." These words, hastily dropped in a fit of passion, were fatal to Becket. Four of his knights of distinguished r[illegible] immediately left the king's presence and crossed over to [illegible]rbury. They found the archbishop in his palace, forced [illegible]ay into the chamber in which he sat after dinner with his [illegible]lants, and upbraided him, in their presence, with coarse [illegible]oud invectives. With great apparent calmness the arch[illegible]t on his robes, and proceeded through the cloisters to assist [illegible]vespers. The knights rushed into the church with him, ar[illegible]d, and with drawn swords. Within a few paces of the doo[illegible]e stood before the altar of St. Benedict. The assassins here renewed their upbraidings, and made an attempt to drag him from the church. He was an athletic person, and in resisting their violence nearly threw one of them to the ground. This was Sir William de Tracy, who aimed at him a blow which broke the arm of a bystander. The rest of the party now fell upon him; his head was cloven, and his blood and brains were scattered on the pavement. He died exclaiming, "To God and to St. Mary I commend my soul and the cause of the Church!" By this single outrage every advantage that Henry had gained against the encroachments of the Hildbrandine party was lost; and the chains of Rome were bound more heavily than before upon the English Church. From the hour of Becket's death, in December, 1170, to the Reformation, a period of almost four hundred years, it can scarcely be said to have had an independent being. It existed as a limb of that huge body, the head, and will, and intellect of which was to be found at Rome. During the whole of that long and dismal period scarcely an event occurs to mark its individual life. Its history is the history of a dependency of the papal see. The dark ages settled on it with their deepest gloom; English divines made no contributions of importance even to Roman Catholic theology. They lent no assistance to the revival of letters. Always anxious to support the papal claims, always ambitious of such preferment as flowed from Rome, they were generally, on

questions of popular right, at variance with the people, and often with the sovereign. Yet some advantages they certainly conferred. In their monasteries misfortune often found a shelter, oppression a refuge, and even piety a home. They prevented a relapse, which, amidst our civil wars, must have certainly occurred, into utter barbarism. Amidst the profound ignorance that prevailed, a return even to Paganism would not seem to have been impossible. but for the light which feebly glimmered from abbeys and cathedrals. And to these men, the ecclesiastics of the dark ages, we owe those proud examples of an architecture, perfect in its kind, which seems alike to stimulate the ambition and mock the endeavours of the builders of a later age. As the touch of the blind receives an unnatural acuteness from the want of sight, so the monks of the middle ages, shut out from the perception of all intellectual beauty, concentrated their powers upon one material science, and brought it to a marvellous perfection.

Henry was terrified when he heard of the archbishop's death. We may believe his earnest protestation, that he designed no such catastrophe. He had too keen a foresight not to perceive that such an outrage, in the state of feeling which then prevailed through Christendom, would recoil upon its author. He sent an ambassador to the pope, who obtained an audience with difficulty, and after submitting patiently to insolence, such as Henry would not have endured from any crowned head in Europe. But it had some effect—the kingdom was not placed under an interdict, and the king was not excommunicated. The pope contented himself with a general excommunication of all who had been concerned in the archbishop's murder Two years afterwards, the king made oath before two papal legates, and in the presence of a number of the clergy and laity, at Avranches, that he neither commanded, nor indeed desired, the death of Becket. At the same time he swore upon the holy gospel, and the relics of the saints, to acknowledge the pope, and no longer to prevent appeals to him in ecclesiastical causes. And he promised to relinquish any customs or usages unfavourable to the Church, which had been introduced in his time. The vagueness of this language has led some writers to say, that the concession amounted to but little; but it certainly must have embraced the Constitutions of Clarendon, which were thus, at length, finally abandoned. Henry promised likewise a tax on all his subjects, to support the

Crusades; and that he himself, within three years, would tak up the cross. On these terms he was absolved. He made, soo afterwards, a pilgrimage to the tomb of his great antagonist spent a whole night before it in fasting and solitude, and th next day submitted to be scourged by the monks of Canterbury in the crypt of the cathedral. It is impossible for us to know whether this were superstition, or remorse, or sheer hypocrisy but it shows unquesti triumph of the clerical party and the prostrate abasen secular power.

In the turbulent reig g John, the English Church, sharing in the degrad nation, descended to the lowest point of infamy, and its on was complete. The quarrel in which the king emb lf with the pope had its origin thus. The monks of terbu were divided into two parties, the one inclined to th other obsequious to the pope. The archbishopric bei y the death of Hubert, A. D. 1199, the seniors of the convent, on the recommendation of the king, chose John de Gray, bishop of Norwich; while the junior monks assembled in the night-time, in an irregular manner, and without the king's knowledge or consent, elected Reginald, their sub-prior, to be archbishop. Both parties appealed to Rome; and the pope, by no means unwilling to display his power, rejected both candidates, and elected Stephen Langton, an Englishman, but brought up in France, Chancellor of the University of Paris, and a cardinal. The monks submitted; but the king, having in vain remonstrated with the pope, banished the monks of Canterbury from the kingdom, and forbade the archbishop, Langton, to enter it.

Innocent III. now filled the papal throne. None of the popes ever carried the demands of the Church further than he. He had already excommunicated in succession two sovereigns of Germany, and laid the kingdom of France under an interdict; and he was ambitious now to complete his triumph by laying England prostrate before the holy see. John, equally rash and weak, remonstrated with Innocent on his presumption, and intimated that he would dissolve his connexion with Rome entirely, and die rather than sacrifice his rights. Innocent answered by sending a commission to the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, to lay the kingdom beneath an interdict. It was published in London, and remained in force two years; when John, being

impenitent, was excommunicated and deposed, and his cts were absolved from their allegiance. During the inter- all public worship ceased; the dead were buried in cross- and ditches, Matthew Paris tells us, without prayers and ut a priest. After a time, at Langton's intercession, his ess permitted divine service to be performed once a week in churches, in a low voice, the doors being shut, and the excluded. Ireland, a country not yet entirely reduced to ction to the English crown, was, probably on that account, ncluded in the interdict. Still the king maintained his d for five years; and during this period he so far bore up st his misfortunes, that he was able to lead a successful lition against Ireland, and another into Wales. It may be ted whether, after all, John would not have successfully d the papal wrath, had he been but true to himself and to eople The pope, as a last alternative, had called Philip, of France, to his assistance, to whom he promised the n of all his sins and a grant of the kingdom of England, on tion that he immediately invaded it. Philip assembled a army near to Boulogne, and John was already at Dover, his craven spirit failed. On the 15th May, 1213, he dered his kingdoms to the pope and his successors, took aths of fealty and submission, and received the British ls again as fiefs, for which he engaged to pay the annual e of one thousand marks. On his knees, at the same time, rrendered his crown into the hands of Pandulphus, the , and received it back again with the tribute, which he had led under his feet. Philip was now compelled to draw off my, and the interdict and excommunication were removed. ble as Innocent III. was, it seems certain that his success ngland was owing rather to the worthless character and pularity of John than to the spiritual thraldom of our tors. Of this, indeed, we have a significant proof. Within ears the barons took arms against the king, and the pope lefended John as his own vassal. He wrote to the barons anding them "not to take arms against his most dear son," hey treated his admonition with contempt. He proceeded er, and sent over his legate Gualo to excommunicate the s and their party, which included Langton the archbishop many of the higher clergy; but the sentence was again

utterly disregarded, and the King of England, supported by the thunders of the Vatican, was driven, in 1215, to the concessions of Runnymede and the Magna Charta.

The ecclesiastical history of England from this period to the Reformation presents only two important features; the struggles of the crown against the encroachments of the see of Rome, and the progress of the Lollards, the representatives of the new opinions. The first of these [illegible]ns belongs to civil history, and the prosecution of it here [illegible]ead us far beyond our purpose. It may be enough to say, i[illegible], that there was, through the whole time, an unceasing [illegible] on the part of the popes of Rome, to introduce their [illegible] England without the consent of the civil power; that is, [illegible]n the clergy absolutely; and, on the part of the kings or [illegible]nd, a determination, scarcely less resolute and unway[illegible] to resist the aggression. In the reign of Richard II., a [illegible]onsiderable number of the best preferments in England were held by Italians, many of whom were cardinals. These ecclesiastics were unacquainted with the habits and language of the English people, and few of them had even so much as set foot upon the soil. In a parliament held at Westminster, A. D. 1378, the subject was discussed, and foreigners were forbidden to hold ecclesiastical preferment: but the evil continued down to the Reformation, though somewhat abated. In the same reign, the *Statute of Provisors* made it penal in any person, ecclesiastic or layman, to alienate the profits of his benefice. This law was pointed at an abuse the papal party were anxious to establish, namely, that the proceeds of all livings were to be considered a sort of common fund, to be disposed of for the benefit of the Church, here or elsewhere, as the pope might see fit. It was also declared to be contrary to the laws and customs of England, that the pope should remove a bishop from his see. This, it seems, had been done when a prelate had incurred the pope's displeasure, under the pretext of translating him to a see *in partibus infidelium*, which amounted to a deprivation, since these bishoprics among the heathen had no existence but in name. At the same time, the provisions of the *Mortmain Act* were guarded with new penalties, to prevent, if possible, the unjust acquisition of lands and property by the Church. But while these cautions were being devised, a man had already appeared who was raised up to humble the papacy

and to be the harbinger of light and freedom to the English Church. John Wickliffe had already entered the field to contend alone against the might of Christendom, arrayed with the popedom, on behalf of the pure and simple religion of the Bible.

Two hundred years before his time, in the reign of Henry II., a small company of ecclesiastical reformers had found their way into England. They are said to have been Germans. There were about thirty of them; Gherard, the name of their leader, has been preserved. No doubt they belonged to the ancient Waldenses or Paulicians, who, from the earliest ages, had preserved an uncorrupted faith among the mountains of southern Europe. They were whipped through the streets of Oxford, and left to die of hunger in the fields, none daring to shelter or relieve them. But the good seed perished; and during the two centuries which elapsed before Wickliffe appeared, no attempt whatever seems to have been made, in points of doctrine, to gainsay the dogmas of the Church of Rome. Whatever popes and councils decreed was received implicitly. The appearance of Wickliffe marks an epoch in the Church of Christ, for his influence has extended wherever the fame of England and her religion has found its way.

John Wickliffe was born near Richmond, in Yorkshire, about the first year of Edward III., A. D. 1327. He was a student at Queen's College, Oxford, and afterwards at Merton College. He became a Professor in the University, and Master of Baliol College, and soon distinguished himself us an opponent of the Mendicant Friars. In 1367 he was publicly challenged by a monk to defend the decision of parliament that the king should not do homage to the pope, a challenge which he promptly answered. In his reply, the manuscript of which is in the Lambeth library, he styles himself the king's private chaplain. That he was a person of some consideration in the state is evident from the circumstance that he formed one of a commission which Edward III. sent to Pope Gregory XI., then residing at Avignon, on the subject of the Statute of Provisors and other delicate questions. His name stands second in the commission, the first being that of the bishop of Bangor. It has been supposed, and perhaps not unreasonably, that Wickliffe's aversion to the ecclesiastical system was by no means lessened by what he saw there of the papal court. Soon after his return he was presented by

the crown to the rectory of Lutterworth, where the remainder of his life was spent. In an age when few pastors ever preached at all, his zeal and diligence were exemplary. He preached not only on Sunday, but on the festivals of the Church; and no less than three hundred of his sermons are still extant in manuscript. He now began to deliver his sentiments with the utmost plainness on the subject of the [illegible]rruptions. From his various writings the following [illegible]s have been extracted. We quote them from Ful[illegible] History, in a late edition of which they are verified by comp[illegible]ison with the original documents, a labour for which th[illegible]s of ecclesiastical students are due to the learned editor, [illegible] Rev. J. S. Brewer:—

i. *Of the Pope.*

That it is blasphemy to call [illegible]y man head of the Church, save Christ alone.

That the election of the pope by cardinals is a device of the devil.

That those are heretics which say that Peter had more power than the other apostles.

That James, bishop of Jerusalem, was preferred before Peter.

That Rome is not the seat in which Christ's vicar doth reside.

That the pope, if he doth not imitate Christ and Peter in his life and manners, is not to be called the successor of Peter.

That the imperial and kingly power are above the papal power.

That the doctrine of the infallibility of the Church of Rome, in matters of faith, is the greatest blasphemy of Antichrist.

That Christ meant the pope by the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place.

ii. *Of Prelates, &c.*

That bishops' benedictions, confirmations, consecrations of churches, &c., be but tricks to get money.

That plain deacons and priests may preach without license of pope or bishop.

That in the time of the apostles there were only two orders, namely, priests and deacons, and that a bishop doth not differ from a priest.

That it is lawful for clergymen to marry.

iii. *Of the Sacraments.*

hat baptism doth not confer, but only signify, grace, which given before.

hat in the sacrament of the altar the host is not to be worped, and such as adore it are idolaters.

hat the substance of bread and wine still remain in the ament.

hat God could not, though he would, make his body to be at same time in different places.

hat the sacrament of confirmation is not much necessary to ation.

hat confession, to a man truly contrite, is superfluous, used Antichrist to know the secrets and gain the wealth of others.

hat that is no due marriage which is contracted without hope aving children.

hat extreme unction is needless, and no sacrament.

hese, with other propositions offensive to the papacy, were le the groundwork of ecclesiastical proceedings against Wick- ; nor need it be concealed that, sharing in the barbarism of his , he sometimes mixed up coarse vituperation with serious ument. He was summoned in 1377 to appear at St. Paul's re the archbishop, and answer the charge of heresy and neous doctrine. He presented himself before the synod, but ad powerful friends. He was himself in high esteem with sovereign. His posture and equipage bespoke neither fear apprehension. Many centuries had passed since the pope found himself confronted with such an adversary. The e of Lancaster, the illustrious John of Gaunt, and lord cy, earl marshal of England, attended him. Courtney, op of London, son of Hugh Courtney, earl of Devonshire, one of the judges; and between him and the lay lords it is lent that a rivalry of birth and profession rankled. Courtney sted that Wickliffe should stand while he answered the rges "Wickliffe, sit down!" said lord Piercy, "for you e many things to answer to, and you have need to repose rself." Courtney remonstrated against this. "He must stand, l shall!" Here the duke of Lancaster interfered. "The l Piercy's motion for Wickliffe is but reasonable," said he; nd as for you, my lord bishop, who are grown so proud and

arrogant, I will bring down the pride, not of you alone, but of all the prelacy of England." "Do your worst, sir," said Courtney; but here the Londoners, with whom, on some account, the duke was unpopular, enraged by the affront offered to their bishop, rushed forward tumultuously and broke up the court. The duke and Piercy were in some danger from their fury. It is to be observed, however, that in this broil, so characteristic of the times, neither the [illegible] nor Wickliffe seem to have taken any part.

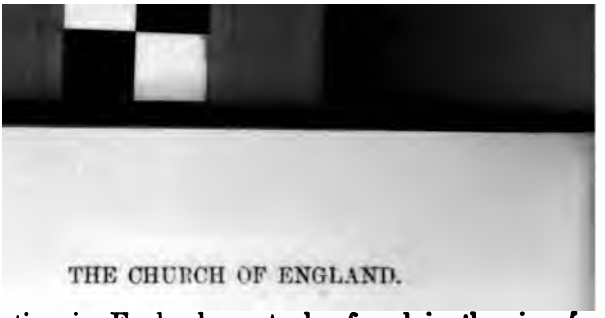
A bull was issued by th[illegible] 1377, commanding an inquiry into Wickliffe's heresies, of [illegible] enumerated eighteen. He was brought, in consequence [illegible] archbishop and other prelates at Lambeth. King Ed[illegible]ow dead, and he was followed to the grave by Gregory [illegible]efore the proceedings ended. Happily, too, for the cau[illegible]ipient Reformation, the great schism now occurred, by [illegible]n of two rival popes, which so distracted and weakened the papal party that no sentence was pronounced. To this circumstance, rather than to the generosity of his opponents, it was owing that Wickliffe continued to preach unharmed at Lutterworth, and died in peace. It was after these events that he continued his assaults upon the papacy in a tract, still preserved in manuscript, entitled, "The Papal Schism," in which he calls upon all the sovereigns of Christendom to seize the opportunity, and bring down the whole fabric of the papacy, "seeing that Christ," he says, "hath now cloven the head of Antichrist, and set them to fight against one another." In 1382 his opinions were condemned in a synod at Oxford, and he was forbidden to preach in the university. It was about this time, probably in 1380, that he completed the work which has immortalized his name, his translation of the Bible into the vernacular English of the thirteenth century. He died in 1384, but his principles had taken root. His successful resistance to the prelatic party contributed, no doubt, to make him a favourite with the people. It was not only a struggle between the doctrines of the early Church and the corruptions with which popery had overlaid them; it was a renewal of the ancient strife between the English party and a foreign priesthood. Wickliffe and John of Gaunt stood for the independence of their native land. Courtney and the prelates represented a foreign despotism. Thus the cause of the Reformation, even in its cradle, was the cause of

lish liberty. In a few years after his death portions of Wick-
's Bible were very generally known; and if you met two
ple on the road, one of them, it was said, was sure to be a
iple of Wickliffe. But the reader may judge of the alarm
which the progress of the Reformation was regarded by the
that, ten years after the death of Wickliffe, a Bill was
ught into the House of Lords to forbid the reading of the
lish Bible. About the same time they passed the statute of
munire, by which it was made penal to introduce any bull,
ence of excommunication, or other process, from the court of
ne, without express permission from the king in council.
current of public opinion must have run with great force in
ur of ecclesiastical independence when such a measure could
carried, by free discussion, in an assembly which numbered
y churchmen amongst its members — mitred abbots and
ates. It does not appear, however, that the same spirit of
pendence was aroused in matters of a purely spiritual kind.
ore the close of the century, the followers of Wickliffe had
me sufficiently numerous to form a party, and to obtain a
gnation. In a roll of the 19th Richard II. A.D. 1395, they are
ned Lollards, and it appears that they neither worshipped
ges nor prayed to saints,—that they despised pilgrimages as
tonement for sin,—that they held "divers teachings that men
pt Lollard's doctrine," and read "books of Lollardry;" all
ch the party named abjure on oath, submitting to penance
acknowledging themselves guilty of heresy.

n the year 1400 the fires of the Church were lighted; and
liam Sautre, a priest, was burnt in Smithfield. Other execu-
s followed of both sexes. Henry IV. can be regarded in no
er light than as a persecutor. He occupied the crown from
ch Richard had been deposed, and the Lollards were supposed
etain an affectionate remembrance of the late king; thus they
ame the objects of his vindictive passions. The people saw them
to the torment of the stake without interference, and probably
hout compassion; though, at the same time, they were
norous against the rapacity of the clergy. It is a curious
t, mentioned by Stowe in his "Chronicle," that in a parlia-
nt held in London, in the year 1410, the knights and bur-
ses presented to the king a Bill in this form: "To the most
ellent lord the king. and all the nobles in this present parlia-

ment assembled, your faithful commons humbly do show that our sovereign lord the king may have the temporal possessions and lands which by the bishops, abbots, and priors are proudly spent and wasted in this realm, which should suffice to find 150 earls, and 1500 knights, 6200 esquires, and 100 hospitals more than now be," &c. Forty-one years after the death of Wickliffe, the Council of Constance condemned his writings, and ordered his bones to be dug up and bu[illegible]es not appear that any feeling of popular discontent was o[illegible] by this outrage. The Lollards were a proscribed sect. [illegible] to the memory of their leader was not felt as an insult t[illegible]n. Lord Cobham's execution, A. D. 1414, had the plea o[illegible]as well as heresy; though he was a Lollard, he had ad[illegible] arms against the king. His death was probably con[illegible] both parties rather as a political sacrifice than a n[illegible] But, after all, the apathy with which the nation [illegible]e sufferings of the Lollards shows how strong and deep was the prostration to the papacy. Statutes were passed from time to time for depriving heretics of their rights and property (statute Henry IV. cap. 15, and statute Henry V. cap. 7); and, although no writ or warrant is said to exist before the reign of Henry VIII. for the capital punishment of heretics, the sheriffs did not hesitate to carry into effect the sentence of the ecclesiastical courts. Thus multitudes of the Lollards were imprisoned, and not a few were burnt. The opinions which Sautre avowed, and for which he suffered, involved a denial of the Romish doctrine of the sacraments, and, by consequence at least, of the pope's supremacy. But the doctrine of the sacraments lay at the foundation. With this the Reformation began, and for this Sautre and all the martyrs suffered. He was condemned by Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, as a heretic, because he denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. His indictment is preserved in Foxe's Martyrology. Several inferior charges are adduced, as that he denounced the worship of the cross, and the merits of pilgrimages, even to the tomb of St. Thomas (Becket); but the last and heaviest charge is, that he maintained that, after the pronouncing of the sacramental words, "the body of Christ, the bread remaineth of the same na[illegible] that it was before, neither doth it cease to be bread." I[illegible] compare this with the doctrines of the Lollards, just a cen[illegible] afterwards, we shall find no other difference than what migh[illegible]

pected from a more methodical and guarded method of expres-
on, such as grows up with use. In the year 1511, six men and
ur women, Lollards of Tenterden, were brought before arch-
shop Wareham, and abjured the following errors: First, that
e sacrament of the altar is not the body of Christ, but material
ead. Secondly, that the sacraments of baptism and confirma-
on are not necessary nor profitable for men's souls. Thirdly,
at confessions of sins ought not to be made to a priest.
urthly, that there is no more power given by God to a priest
an to a layman. Fifthly, that the solemnization of matrimony
not profitable nor necessary for man's soul. Seventhly, that
grimages to holy and devout places be not profitable, neither
eritorious for man's soul. Eighthly, that images of saints be
t to be worshipped. Ninthly, that a man should pray to no
nts, but only to God. Tenthly, that holy bread and holy
ter be not better after the benediction made by the priest
an before. These were the principles of a large party. Its
ength lay in that middle-class peculiar to England who are
ither awed by power nor seduced by blandishments; and they
re rapidly spreading. On the same day, for instance, the 2nd
May, two other men of Tenterden abjured the same opinions;
the 15th, four men and one woman abjured; on the 19th,
r men; on the 3rd of June, a man and a woman; on the
h of July, another woman; the 29th of July, another man;
women on the 2nd of August; a man on the 3rd, a woman
the 8th, three men on the 16th; and on the 3rd of September,
ee men and a woman. All these were enjoined various pen-
ces, such as to wear the badge of a faggot in flames on their
thes for their lives, or to go in procession to the cathedral, carry-
a faggot on their shoulders. About the same time several
re burned; and it is worthy of notice that all these cases (copied
bishop Burnet from the registers of the diocese) escaped the
allant diligence of Foxe. The eve of the Reformation had
ived; men's minds were universally disturbed; the papacy
d lost its traditional hold upon the conscience and affection
the people; and unless archbishop Wareham's severe mea-
res could repress inquiry, and, what was still more difficult,
bdue latent disaffection, the cause of the Church was lost.
ith these facts before us it is something more than childish to
quiesce in the assertion, so often repeated, that the causes of



the Reformation in England are to be found in the vices of Henry VIII.

The events by which Henry VIII. was led to renounce the pope's supremacy and begin the Reformation are related by all our historians, and we must suppose the reader to be acquainted with them. It is only necessary for our purpose to state, that the quarrel first arose on the subject of the king's divorce. Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VII., was married to Catherine, infanta of Spain, and died without issue six months afterwards. Henry VII., anxious to retain the alliance with the greatest monarchy in Europe and the wealthiest heiress, proposed her marriage with Henry, his second son, now prince of Wales. Wareham, archbishop of Canterbury, protested against the union, as contrary to the laws of God. Fox, bishop of Winchester, was in favour of the marriage, and, in short, a bull was obtained to sanction it, and it took place accordingly, the prince of Wales being then a minor. But the progress of Lollardism in the nation had already modified the popular notions of papal infallibility. A large class, even of canonists, maintained that the pope, although he might set aside the canon law, could not supersede the law of God as plainly written in Holy Scripture. The prince himself, when he came of age, made a formal protestation before a notary, and placed it in the hands of the bishop of Winchester, that he held the marriage to be null and void, and was determined to break it off. On his accession to the crown, however, his views altered; he was again publicly married to Catherine, his brother's widow, and she was crowned with him. Twenty years passed, and the queen was still childless, when Henry seriously began to consider the question of a divorce. That he felt some scruples of conscience it would be unjust to deny; that reasons of state, and the desire of handing down his crown with an undisputed title to a child of his own, should weigh with him, was highly natural; and that, when his affections were unsettled, the presence of Anne Boleyn in his court should have inflamed his passion, and at last induced him, at whatever cost, to make her his wife, is certain. But in order to annul the marriage a papal dispensation was required; and the pope, when applied to, found himself in a state of the greatest embarrassment. On many accounts, connected with the political state of Europe, he was anxious to oblige the king of England, whose zeal against

ıther and the new opinions had, indeed, already been rewarded, his predecessor, with the title of Defender of the Faith. Yet could ill afford to displease so potent a sovereign as the king Spain, who could regard the proposed divorce only as an regious insult to his family. Neither could he safely in the e of Europe, with Luther and Calvin eagerly watching his oceedings, proceed to reverse the solemn decree of an infallible edecessor, and one, too, of a recent date. The tedious artifices which, for the long period of seven years, the papal court held impetuous Henry VIII. at bay, is an equal proof of its diplo- ıtic strategy, and of the strong hold which the papal name ll had upon the mind of the King of England. At last a ung man, quite unknown except in his university, Thomas anmer, a fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, untied the knot ıich was perplexing the canonists of Europe, and, at the same oment, released England from her connexion with the papal see. Cranmer was brought to the king's notice accidentally. He s a retiring man, and declined preferment. The plague ging at Cambridge, he had retired to Waltham with two pupils. ıere he was when the king, on his way to London, spent a ght in the neighbourhood; and two of his courtiers, Gardiner d Fox, happened to sup with Cranmer. The conversation rned upon the king's divorce, and Cranmer suggested that, tead of a long, fruitless negotiation at Rome, it were better to ısult all the learned men, and the universities, of christendom: or," said he, "if they declared it in the king's favour, then the pe must needs give judgment accordingly; or otherwise the ll, being of itself null and void, the marriage would be found ful notwithstanding the pope's dispensation." The king, to ıom the conversation was immediately repeated, was elated, d sent for Cranmer. Wolsey, the late favourite, was already disgrace, as the man by whose incapacity or connivance the pe had been encouraged to procrastinate. The cardinal was quired to resign the great seal. The foreign universities were nsulted. Many of the reformers abroad were induced to write on the subject of divorce. Their judgments were uniformly ıfavourable to the king's marriage, which they pronounced legal; though some of them thought that Henry should be strained from a second marriage. Meanwhile the quarrel with he pope grew wider every day. He summoned Henry to

appear at Rome; in return the clergy, nobility, and gentry of England addressed him requesting him to consent to the divorce and intimating that if he refused to annul the marriage, they must conclude that they were abandoned by him, and seek for other remedies. The pontiff answered mildly: he wished the king might have male issue, but he was not in God's stead to give it. As for their threatening to seek for other remedies, they were neither consistent with their wisdom nor their religion, and he admonished them to abstain from such counsels. He was very anxious to bring the affair to a speedy issue, and to do all he could without offending God. Henry saw clearly that the pope designed by civil speeches still to postpone the matter, if possible, to conciliate all parties. He, therefore, issued a proclamation forbidding the introduction of papal bulls, and assembled a convocation. The clergy were charged with having broken the statutes of provisors and premunire, in having secretly communicated with Rome. The convocations humbly acknowledged their fault, and offered a fine of one hundred thousand pounds from the province of Canterbury, and eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty from the province of York. The king accepted their submission, and granted them a pardon. It was in this convocation, A.D. 1531, that the king of England was declared to be the "only and supreme lord, and, as far as the law of Christ permits, even the supreme head of the Church of England;" unicum et supremum Dominum et, quantum per Christi legem licet, etiam supremum caput ipsius majestatem recognoscimus. Events of importance now hurried on. In 1533 Cranmer was promoted to the see of Canterbury; a few weeks after he pronounced the sentence of divorce, having first publicly read in court the determination of the universities, divines, and canonists, and the judgment of the convocations of both provinces; and the king, who had already been privately married to the lady Anne Boleyn, now had her crowned, and notified his marriage to all the courts in Europe. The pope for the present was satisfied to pronounce the proceedings illegal, and to threaten that unless the king of England retraced his steps, he should be excommunicated the next September. In this month Elizabeth, the future queen of England, was born; and the pope proceeded to declare the marriage between Henry and Catherine lawful, and to threaten

king with further censures. Thus driven to extremities, nry resolved to take the last step and entirely abolish the pe's power in England. In 1534 an Act of Parliament was sed, with very little opposition, which put an end to the pal authority, as well as to the various payments of whatever id which had hitherto been made by the laity or clergy to the of Rome. An Act was also passed to settle the succession the crown upon the children of the queen Anne; and all n were required to swear to the order of succession on pain of sprision of treason. Fisher, bishop of Rochester and Sir omas More, refusing to take the oath, and to consent to these ctments, fell beneath the rage of the cruel and vindictive tyrant, o now began to display the worst features of his character.

It is probable that, up to this period, Henry had no intention proceeding further with the Reformation; nor did he foresee consequences of the steps he had taken. The Act which acowledged the king's supremacy declared that, "they did not reby intend to vary from Christ's Church about the articles of Catholic faith of Christendom, or in any other things, dered by the Scriptures and the word of God necessary for their vation." The only question which had yet arisen, had refere to the claims made by the see of Rome to interfere in the nagement of foreign Churches, and to derive revenues from em. The mind of Cranmer may, even at this early period, ve inclined him to some of those opinions which he afterwards braced; and more or less of Lollardism, no doubt, infected th the convocation and the parliament. It is only thus we n explain the facility with which the most violent of Henry's asures were passed in those assemblies. Several bishoprics re vacant, yet six bishops were found to sanction by their vote ery blow against the papal claims. The king had no difficulty filling up the vacant sees with the ablest churchmen, who took oaths without hesitation, and substituted King Henry for the pe, without reluctance. Yet, at the same time, heresy was erely punished. The year 1534 was disgraced by the deaths Frith, Bilney, Baynham, and others, who were burnt as heres. Firth is said to have been the first of the Reformers who nied in writing the real presence, in the sacrament, but Wicke had taught the same doctrine. Two years afterwards his nciples had spread widely; for we find a protestation of the

clergy of Canterbury against various abuses in 1536, in which, while carefully abjuring the bishop of Rome or his usurped authority, grievous complaints are made of the prevalence of the new opinions, of which fifty-seven are cited and condemned. The first article stands thus: "That it is commonly preached, taught, and spoken, to the slander of this noble realm, damage of Christian souls, not without fear of many other inconveniences and perils, that the sa[illegible]e altar is not to be esteemed; for divers light and le[illegible] not ashamed or afraid to say, 'why should I see th[illegible]he high mass? Is it anything else but a piece of br[illegible]is convocation articles of religion were agreed upo[illegible]e published under the king's authority. The doc[illegible]are substantially those of the Church of Rome. Th[illegible] of penance and auricular confession are enforced; [illegible]ages, the intercession of saints, and prayers addresse[illegible]re defended; purgatory and masses for the dead are enforced, and the sacrament of the altar is thus explained: "Under the form and figure of bread and wine which we there presently do see and perceive by outward senses, is verily, substantially, and really, contained and comprehended, the very self-same body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross for our redemption." And that, "Under the same form and figure of bread and wine, the very self-same body and blood of Christ is corporally, really, and in the very substance exhibited, distributed, and received, unto, and of, all them which receive the said sacrament." Yet the Reformers gained some advantages. The Scriptures and the ancient creeds were declared to be standards of faith, no mention being made of tradition, or the decrees of the Church; only the meaning of Scripture is to be taken according to the sense of the words, and the creeds are to be received "in the sense which the words do purport, and the holy approved doctrines of the Church do entreat and defend the same;" and all the opinions condemned in the first four general councils are to be "utterly refused." Some uncertainty is thrown upon the nature of purgatory; still "it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed." Bishop Burnet sa that the foundation of Christian faith was truly stated, and t terms of the covenant between God and man in Christ w rightly opened. From this we must dissent; the article upo

tification is directly contrary to that afterwards adopted, and retained, by the Church of England in the eleventh and teenth of the Thirty-nine Articles. Sinners, it is said, "attain ification [which signifieth remission of our sins, and our accept- n or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God, that is ay, our perfect renovation in Christ] by contrition and faith *ed with charity.*" Again, "by penance and such good works he same, we shall not only obtain everlasting life, but also we l *deserve remission or mitigation* of present pains and afflic- s in this world." And once more, "to attain certain faith, ance, is necessary; that is to say, confession to a priest, if it be had." Perhaps it is not very consistent with these state- its to add, as the article on Justification does, the following lification: "not as though our contrition, or faith, or any ks proceeding thereof, can worthily merit or deserve to attain said justification, for the only mercy and grace of the Father romised freely unto us for his Son's sake, Jesus Christ; and merits of his blood and passion be the only sufficient and thy causes thereof." These inconsistencies, however, are ly explained. There were two parties in the convocation: of them, led by the archbishop, anxious for reform; the r, headed by Fox and Gardiner, submissive to the pope; and articles of faith were no doubt a compromise, each in turn gating the statements of the other, or introducing inconsistent ndments of their own. The subject must greatly interest a ghtful reader; for here he sees the first elements, as it were, rudiments, out of which the Protestant Church of England soon after to arise. Before they separated, the convocation ished its reasons why the king should decline submitting his rel with the pope to the decision of a general council called he pope's authority. The convocation declared, that neither pope nor any other prince, whatever his dignity might be, authority to summon a general council without the consent ll other Christian princes, especially of such as had entire and reme government over all their subjects. This was signed by Thomas Cromwell, the king's minister, by the archbishop of terbury, fourteen bishops, forty abbots, priors, and clerks, se names for the most part were also subscribed to the doc- al articles before mentioned. In this same year, Henry made first assault upon the endowments of the Church.

In 1535 a general visitation of the monasteries and religious houses was commanded.

The king, no doubt, had many reasons for wishing to see the destruction of the monastic system. The monks, if under a vow of poverty, had nothing to lose, and could the more easily defy the royal power; if rich, their peculiar habits, their corporate system, their vows of implicit obedience, their subjection to a general or provinci nt abroad, made them still more formidable. f the country was entirely in their hands, and he bly suppose that they would take but little pains t fulness of the queen's divorce or of his own supren was in favour of their suppression. He clearly t these foundations, however they might be amen sistent with a full and hearty reformation. A refo d, such as he now began to contemplate, would ir existence; as the greater portion of their incom ed from practices and superstitions he was anxious to abolish; such as purgatory, masses for the dead, the worship of saints and images, pilgrimages, and the like; so that it must always be their interest to oppose his measures. He hoped, too, by the aid of their endowments, to erect in every cathedral town colleges for the clergy, as nurseries for the diocese; a noble project, which, unhappily, was but imperfectly carried into effect. The king was anxious, at Cranmer's suggestion, to erect many new bishoprics, and the monasteries seemed to offer the necessary funds. He was apprehensive, too, of war with the emperor, who had a powerful fleet, and wished to fortify the sea-ports, and encourage the growth of a mercantile marine; but his revenue was exhausted, and for these purposes the suppression of the monasteries was thought an easy way of raising money.

The smaller abbeys, in number three hundred and seventy-six, were dissolved, and their revenues confiscated by Act of Parliament in 1536. The preamble states, that "they had long and notoriously been guilty of vicious and abominable living." The visitors had prepared the way by reporting the most abominable crimes. The report of this visitation has long since been lost, and candour forbids us to charge with universal depravity the whole monastic life of England, in the absence of depositions on the one side and justifications on the other; yet a painful

t of licentious and degrading habits was, we cannot doubt, charged against these institutions. If the superior of a were depraved, as a matter of course the monks or nuns sink to the same level. Public opinion gave no check, and le was in favour of transgression. "I have seen," says , "an extract of a part of this report, concerning one d and forty-four houses, that contains abominations in it o any that were in Sodom."—(Hist. Ref., Part I. book iii.) no matter of surprise that the monasteries, whatever the f their inmates might have been, were by no means unpo- with the common people. In the remoter towns and s they were looked upon as the heathen looked upon their y gods. The ages which had the skill and genius to con- must have produced successive generations qualified to ı and appreciate, those models of mediæval art. The est cottager was proud of the structure which made his village famous. At least one-fifth of the soil of England the hands of the monks; and, compared with the feudal of a former century, or the luxurious nobles who thronged ırt of Henry, the abbot was a kind and considerate land- The former was in general an absentee; the clergy lived on estates; and besides the hospitality which greeted the er of rank and the weary traveller alike, once a day, at he gates of the abbey were thronged with a crowd of poor lents, who lived upon its alms and broken food. The ıes of the Lollards were scarcely known in such neighbour-

They made their appearance in the great towns, or won onverts in districts where the soil was poor, the climate al, and the monasteries few. Buckinghamshire, which did ssess more than two or three monasteries, of only the third f opulence, gave more martyrs to the cause of Wickliffe ll the rest of England. The suppression of the lesser teries led to a formidable insurrection. It first broke out colnshire, where the monks were numerous, and where the on was first begun. The insurgents were not less than thousand men, but as winter approached they dispersed, e seized. They were pardoned; but a more serious rebellion reading through the north. A large army of peasants and people was suddenly collected in the autumn of 1536, from unties of York, Lancaster, and Westmorland. The frenzy

of the crusaders had revived. They termed their campaign "the pilgrimage of grace," and were preceded on their march by a company of monks, with crucifixes and sacred banners. They marched under the command of a gentleman of Yorkshire, and seized on York and Hull. They compelled the archbishop of York to take their oath, by which they bound themselves to purify the nobility and expel evil counsellors; to suppress heretics, and make restitu urch. The king himself met them with a superior aster, and the insurgents at length laid down the ther rebellions broke out in other counties, ending submission of the insurgents and the execution rs. Many of the monastic clergy were put to vague plea of having lent their countenance to ut no doubt with a view, first, of subduing the spir y, and secondly, of making them odious to the p gst these were the abbots of Reading, Glastonbury, ar r; the priors of Woburn and Burlington, and several others: these were amongst the richest abbeys in England. By these, and similar means, about one hundred and fifty superiors were induced to make a voluntary surrender of their lands and houses. At length the final blow was struck, and the conventual system was dissolved. It had arisen with Dunstan, and gathered strength for a period of more than six hundred years, flourishing in England with a splendour which it scarcely attained in any other country. An Act was passed (31 Henry VIII., chap. 13), in 1539, which provided, that "all monasteries and other religious houses dissolved, suppressed surrendered, renounced, relinquished, forfeited, or by any means come to his highness, shall be vested in him, his heirs and successors, for ever." Whatever truth there may have been in the charges of profligate depravity advanced against the monks and nuns in general, it has never been shown that the religious houses were at this period the refuge of exemplary piety or exalted learning. Neither science nor literature have had occasion to lament their overthrow. They were the refuge of the ancient and already failing superstitions; they were the fortresses of the old against the new opinions. Sir James Mackintosh has written a beautiful discussion on the question whether the suppression of these institutions and the seizure of their property was *right* in the highest sense of legislative truth and pure morality; but

an action be right, all those subsidiary lines of action which are necessary for its completion are right also. If the Reformation were right, so too was the destruction of the monastic system which it involved; and it must not be forgotten, in arguing this question, that the wealth of the abbeys had been obtained by practising on the superstitions of the wealthy; and that their importance in the eyes, even of the common people, rested, in no small degree, on a system of fraud and jugglery. Relics, ridiculous and disgusting, were exposed. At Reading, Dr. London, one of the visitors, reported "An angel with one wing, that brought over the spear's head that pierced our Saviour's side." At Bury St. Edmund's they found some of the coals that roasted St. Lawrence, and the parings of St. Edmund's toes. At Bexley was a rood or image of the Virgin, which opened and closed its eyes, bowed its head, and made other motions, which the people were taught to regard as the effects of a Divine power; it was brought to Rochester, and broken open in the presence of Hilsey, the bishop, who explained the imposture in a sermon on the occasion. The shrine of Becket was despoiled, and his remains barbarously dispersed or burnt. This last act irritated the pope more than all Henry's previous delinquencies. He soon after published a bull, which had been some time prepared, excommunicating the king, and placing the kingdom beneath an interdict. But weapons once so formidable fell harmless now. No agent of the pope had the courage to introduce the bull into England; but it was published, by authority, in several foreign towns of France and Germany.

The Reformation made no great progress during the remainder of Henry's life. It was a great step in its favour that the Bible was translated and ordered to be read. But the Romish party was still powerful under Gardiner and Bonner. The king's temper became more violent than ever. Priests were hung for denying his supremacy, while women, priests, and laymen were burned for denying the real presence. Six articles were enacted by parliament and received the royal assent, in 1539, termed by the Protestants The Bloody Articles, which show the ascendency of the Romish party. They assert transubstantiation, private masses, auricular confession, and vows of chastity. They deny that communion in both kinds is necessary, and forbid the marriage of the clergy. Yet, in 1540, Cranmer had sufficient in-

fluence to obtain a commission from the king, confirmed in parliament, to determine upon a confession of faith. This was published under the title of "A necessary Erudition for a Christian Man." We have the authority of Foxe, who wrote in the reign of Elizabeth, that Cranmer, of the commissioners, was the only one who heartily promoted the Reformation. Upon the whole, "The Eruditi[illegible]an Man" is a more Protestant statement of doctrin[illegible]ny which had been previously set forth. The sever[illegible]re retained, and the doctrine of the corporeal pre[illegible]ayers for the dead are commended as "good an[illegible]but, because it is not known what condition depa[illegible]in, we ought only to recommend them to the m[illegible] The merit of good works, of whatever kind, is [illegible]nced, a proof of Cranmer's influence,—who now [illegible] a doctrine which has ever since been one of the [illegible] of the controversy with the Church of Rome. Justification is stated to be by faith; "yet man, prevented by grace, is by his free consent and obedience a worker toward the attaining of his own justification." An exposition of the Ten Commandments was given. Gardiner would have omitted the second, or joined it to the first, but Cranmer prevailed so far as to have it inserted, but without the clause, "for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God," &c.; and the explanation allows the use of images but forbids their worship. The Lord's Prayer is also expounded, and the people are exhorted to pray in the mother tongue. The Ave Mary is explained to be a hymn of praise. Some alterations were made in the services of the Church. But Burnet, who had seen a manuscript of them, says they were few and inconsiderable; consisting chiefly of the omission of a few collects, in which the pope, Thomas-a'-Becket, and other Romish saints were mentioned or invoked. The old service-books still remained in the desks of the Churches, the only changes being a few erasures with the pen.

Thus religion stood at the close of the reign of Henry VIII. Each of the two parties was dissatisfied; the reformers accepting these changes as an earnest of a more perfect reformation; the popish party vexed with their losses, and still hoping, by so favourable accident, to regain their footing. Henry died 1547, and was succeeded by his son Edward VI., the child Jane Seymour, not yet ten years of age. He was of a sweet a



gentle disposition, a consumptive habit, and a precocious mind: is principles had been formed under his tutor, Dr. Cox, the riend of Cranmer and the Reformation. By the late king's will he duke of Somerset, young Edward's uncle, was made lord protector; and to him was intrusted a power greater than has been ver legally confided to an English subject, till the king should e eighteen years of age. Somerset favoured the Reformation, nd it now proceeded rapidly. Thirty commissioners were appointed to go through the country and root out superstitious ractices. For their guidance a schedule of instructions was rawn up, consisting of thirty-six articles. They were instructed o destroy all relics of superstition in statues, or painted glass, hrines, or other monuments; and to permit only two lights pon the high altar before the sacrament, to signify that Christ s the very light of the world. They were to regulate the conluct of the clergy and correct abuses. The clergy were to be nstructed, once a-quarter at least, to dissuade the people from uperstitious fancies of pilgrimages, praying to images, and so orth; and to exhort them to works of faith and charity. The tate of learning amongst the clergy is sufficiently indicated by he command, that when there was no sermon, the Paternoster, he Creed, and the Ten Commandments should be recited from he pulpit; that every dean or archdeacon should preach twice -year at least; and that every ecclesiastical person should, within three months, provide himself with the New Testament in Latin nd English, with the paraphrase of Erasmus. It was expected of communicants, that they should be able to repeat the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments; and a Bible, for the use of the people, was to be placed in every church, with the commentary of Erasmus on the Gospels. Twelve homilies were drawn up, chiefly by Cranmer, which those of the clergy who were no preachers were ordered to read to the people. The most eminent preachers of the time were also chosen to attend the commissioners in their progress through the country, and instruct the people in the nature of true religion. The commissioners discharged their duties well. They accomplished many important reforms, and established principles which, if their task was still imperfect, laid the groundwork for further changes. But their difficulties were enormous, and no party was completely satisfied The papists, under Gardiner and Bonner, were

of course indignant. They protested against the Book of Homilies, and showed that it was, in several points, at variance with the Paraphrase; and that the Paraphrase itself contradicted the reformers on the question of the king's supremacy. The princess Mary, the future queen of England, a rigid papist, was induced to utter a protest against the right of the protector, or the government, to make any changes in religion, until the king should be of age. Amongst th oo, a new party had already appeared, the germ uritans. For these the work was too slow. The sa ass was not abolished. There were no candles befo ut two were still left burning before the altar; ar s denied to the laity. And while these remaine red the Reformation scarcely begun.

But it should have ered that a reformation to be lasting must carry v victions of the people; that Cranmer and the gove , to a great extent, to create the appetite for sound instruction and religious truth; and that, where it did not exist, every change they introduced was hateful to the people. Points of vast importance had been gained. Henceforth the people would be taught the rudiments, at least, of Christian piety, in their own language. The great doctrine of justification by faith only, without the works of the law, was now at length cleared from obscurity, and plainly taught in the Homily. Gardiner himself felt the importance of Cranmer's victory. He maintained the Romish doctrine, that infants were justified by baptism, penitents by penance, and all adult persons by charity conjoined with faith. If Cranmer's doctrine were received, he clearly foresaw the fall of the Romish system in every part. We cannot doubt his sincerity: he submitted to an imprisonment in the Fleet rather than consent to this and the other measures of the reformers. Bonner of London, more violent and more subservient, escaped a prolonged imprisonment by an humble submission. Tunstall, bishop of Durham, a prelate of various and eminent merit, was excluded from the privy council on the same grounds. These prelates swayed a large party, not so much in parliament as in country towns parishes; and there was an uneasy feeling amongst the sell the ignorant, and in short all those who were averse to cha And this soon afterwards broke out all over the kingdom.

violent insurrections. At Norwich twenty thousand men took arms; in Cornwall there were ten thousand insurgents; Hampshire, Wiltshire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Kent, and Sussex were agitated, although with less violence. Religion was not the only grievance, it is true, but it was the chief. The popish clergy headed the insurgents, and one of them was hanged at Exeter, for this rebellion, upon the tower of his own church, in his sacred vestments, and with his beads suspended from his girdle. The rebellion occurred in 1549. But to return.

Parliament assembled in the month of November, 1547; and at once repealed the six Acts of Henry VIII., and other persecuting laws of earlier date against the Lollards. It is a remarkable circumstance that, although the convocation was sitting, the House of Commons took upon itself the reformation of the Church, in matters purely spiritual. The convocation and the parliament were at variance. In the former, Gardiner and the Romish principles prevailed; in the latter, the principles of the Reformation were triumphant. Parliament assembled on the 4th of November: on the 12th a bill was brought in and read the first time "concerning the Sacrament." On the 24th a second bill was brought in, "for the communion to be received in both kinds." The two bills were compressed into one, and, on the 20th of December, passed both Houses. It is evident from the dates that the parliament had not waited for the convocation. These measures originated with themselves. By the first of these bills they undertook to declare the nature of the Sacrament, and to guard it from that contempt into which it had fallen, as they say, "by its having been marvellously abused;" and they punish profane persons who shall discourse of it in sermons, or in songs, with disrespect, by fine and imprisonment. And in the second they enact, that it shall be received in both kinds by the laity; that the priest shall not deny it to any without a lawful cause; but that, the day before every sacrament, an exhortation be made to the people to prepare themselves for it, in which the danger of worthy and unworthy receiving were to be expressed. And the priest was forbidden to communicate alone. The convocation does not appear to have resented these proceedings as an invasion of their rights: but they made a request that some of the clergy might have a seat in the House of Commons. This seems to be a recognition of the



right of the lower house of parliament to deal with matters of a purely spiritual nature; and to express a desire that its deliberations should have the aid of the presence of clerical advocates. Private masses were suppressed, and the election of bishops was again vested in the king. In the next session the uniformity of public worship was established. The images which still remained were removed from the churches; and, seeing that great mischief had arisen from rash preachers on both sides, "none were to preach without a licence, except preachers in their own parishes." This was one of the first of several attempts made during the Reformation to silence the pulpit until the law had spoken. In every instance the prohibition seems to have failed, or rather to have given fresh zeal to the obnoxious preachers and their crowded congregations. In 1548 a commission was appointed, consisting of the archbishops, seventeen bishops, and six others, to examine the offices of public worship, with a view to their amendment. On the 8th of March a new office for the communion was published by proclamation. Confession was left indifferent; the Sacrament was to be given in both kinds; first to the ministers present, and then to all the people, with these words,—"The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body unto everlasting life;" and,—"The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul unto everlasting life." The elevation of the consecrated elements was forbidden. In the same year it was determined, after much debate, to have an entirely new liturgy. For this many reasons presented themselves, and amongst them one which must surprise those who have learned to acquiesce without inquiry in the notion that a unity of practice obtained in the Church of Rome. In Roman Catholic England public worship was conducted after at least five different forms. In the southern counties the use of Sarum was universally received, said to have been drawn up by Osmond, an ancient bishop of Salisbury. In the north of England the use of York prevailed. Wales followed two uses, those of Hereford and Bangor; and Lincoln had an office of its own. Henceforward one use, or form of prayer, was to be employed. But this was trifling in comparison with other reformations. The Prayer Book of 1548 is no doubt deficient, and in some points unscriptural; but we are scarcely in a condition to appreciate its worth. For the first

he lapse of ages, the congregations of the Church of
re invited to join in a service in their native tongue,
devout, impressive. The morning and evening ser-
ie omission of the confession and absolution, were such
remain. In the communion service, and in baptism,
of the old superstition were visible. In the former,
ints were commended to God's mercy; and in the
ie wine was mixed with water, and the bread was
ened; and because some might carry it away and
superstitious uses, it was ordered to be put by the
their mouths. In baptism a cross was made on the
ead and breast with an adjuration of the devil to go

He was then dipped with trine immersion, clothed
some, or white veil, by the minister, and anointed
n the litany there was one suffrage which we have
om the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and all his
normities, good Lord deliver us."

some important matters, to which we must revert,
fore the reader at one view the progress made in
eform during the reign of Edward VI. As the re-
dvanced, dissatisfaction began to be felt with several
h had been retained in deference to the Romish
to the superstitions of the common people. On the
forms and ceremonies, a schism had broken out
reformers themselves. It was pregnant with sad
es. It was destined first to distract, and then to
the Church of England; and to produce a breach
not yet been healed. The subject is too great to be
discussed, and we refer the reader to our article on
s for further information. It was determined once
view the Book of Common Prayer, to omit what was
s, and to bring it into perfect harmony with the ad-
rit of the age and the doctrines of the Bible. Martin
consulted. He was a German divine, who had been
Oxford, as Peter Martyr had been to Cambridge, on
his great learning and theological attainments. Bucer
hat, upon the whole, he found the common service
prayers in accordance with the Scriptures, but there
things which he wished to see removed, such as
consecrated bread in the mouth, and not in the

hand, of the communicant; the hallowing of the water; the chrysome, and the white garment; the service for exorcising evil spirits; the anointing of the sick, and praying for the dead. He wished to reject the old vestments, still used by the clergy, as tending to superstition in some minds, and begetting fruitless controversy in many more. He advised a stricter discipline, and lamented the want of faithful teachers of more learning and greater intelligence. [illegible] to the episcopacy, he recommended that the b[illegible] throw aside all secular pursuits; that the lar[illegible]uld be subdivided, and that a council of presbyt[illegible] appointed to co-operate with each bishop; that [illegible]uld be placed over, not more than, twenty or thi[illegible]ho should often collect their clergy together, an[illegible] closely; that a provincial synod should meet [illegible]ere a lay commissioner in the king's name should [illegible]s is the outline of a system which was revived by Archbishop Usher, just a hundred years afterwards, under the title of Reduced Episcopacy. Another suggestion of this great man slept for a much longer period, before the wakening humanities of the English people disturbed it. He advised the king that none should be put in prison for slight offences, and that none should be put to death for theft. In England, he said, adultery, a far greater wrong to the suffering party than any sort of theft, was slightly passed over, while thieves were punished with a severity which had no sanction in the law of God.

In 1551 the amended prayer-book was published, and the next year it was authorised by law. It was substantially the common prayer-book now in use; the changes made were these. The form of general confession and absolution were now prefixed; and, in the communion service, the ten commandments were introduced. A rubric was added, which was removed by Queen Elizabeth, but again restored at the Savoy conference in 1661, explanatory of the posture of kneeling at the sacrament. It declared that the posture was retained as a most reverent and humble way of expressing our sense of the mercies of God in the death of Christ, but that thereby there was no adoration intended to the bread and wine, which was gross idolatry; nor did the think the very flesh and blood of Christ were there present, since his body, according to the nature of all other bodies, could

one place at once; and so he, being now in heaven, could corporally present in the sacrament. Articles of religion so agreed upon. They were forty-two in number. Early reign of Elizabeth, they were reduced to thirty-nine; and e, as then revised, to be the standards of the English . Christ's descent into hell, the place of torment, is l. The doctrine that departed souls sleep with their till the last day is condemned, as is "the fable of the ries;" by which Bishop Burnet understands, the doctrine e who believed that the damned, after some time of g, shall be saved. These were the chief points of difference. ain remarkable, that although the convocation was sitting, e changes were effected by the parliament, and published. their authority, by letters-patent from the king. These re followed by others, for the marriage of the clergy, the sion of superstitious holidays, and the reformation of stical courts. A commission was issued in February o thirty-two persons, of whom sixteen were laymen, to a body of ecclesiastical law for the .government of the ; it was carried on with vigour, and brought to a con- when King Edward died, and the Reformation was y and prematurely closed. The canons of the Church of d of 1604 were, to some extent, founded upon this earlier ortive attempt. The king expired on the 6th of July, ith this prayer upon his lips: "O my Lord God, bless ple, and save thine inheritance; O Lord God, save thy people of England; O Lord God, defend this realm from , and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people ise thy holy name, for Jesus Christ his sake." During rt reign, the Protestant Church assumed, in all substantial its present form. On reflection, we cannot but be struck e rapidity with which change follows change; and a which for a thousand years had been had in reverence, s into dust. A party still powerful adheres to the ancient ut the House of Commons, always whether for good or d in all ages, a reflection of the national mind and cepts every reform which the mild genius of Cranmer s, and embodies it in the forms of law. It is clear that wing intelligence of England had outrun its ancient . Thoughtful men, of every class, had long been dis-

passions. And the Refc
be mournfully confessed.

The king's sister, the
was a devoted papist : hc
for performing mass befor
in her own house. She
requested to conform. H
faith she would neither
that violence would have
suggested that "to wink
ascetic spirit of Mary wa
and the reformers soon fe
Romish prelates suffered a
slight indeed and insignific
change of circumstances, th
as reflect no credit on the
were deprived : a step with
But Gardiner was impris
Bonner was cited before a C
himself in his natural way, w
of his indecorum, he was
remained a prisoner till the
remembered and repaid witl
regained authority in the
were guilty of other severitie
The execution of Joan Bou
has left an ignominious brand

ear elapsed between her trial and execution; and Edward is id to have signed the warrant at last with tears, and with an ppeal to Cranmer, who was present, that he must answer for it to od. But the researches of recent biographers of that great man ave established the fact, that Cranmer was not present when the arrant was signed; and the only share he seems to have had in he nefarious business was that he did not vehemently protest gainst it. He was not, it seems, upon such subjects in advance f other men. A commission was appointed, April 12, 1549, onsisting of the archbishop of Canterbury, with five other ishops and a few divines, empowering them to examine and earch after all anabaptists, heretics, and contemners of the Book f Common Prayer; to reclaim them if possible, and if not to mprison them and deliver them over to the secular power. nder this commission several were punished with penances, nd one at least was burned. So slow was the progress of ecovery from that insensibility of conscience which ages of darkess had succeeded in imposing on mankind!

These were the blemishes of the Reformation; but they belong o the age itself rather than the actors, much less the cause; and he reformed religion is not responsible for the infirmities of its rst leaders. The evil practices of the nobility of that day, their apacity and selfishness, have been more injurious to the interests f the Church of England. Not only glebe-lands and the proerties of dissolved houses, but a vast proportion of the tithe was quandered amongst them in presents, or sold at merely nominal rices. Bishop Latimer complains, in one of his sermons, that he revenues were seized by the rich laity, and that the incumbent was only the proprietor of the title.—"Many benefices are t out to farm by secular men, or given to their servants for eeping their hounds, hawks, and horses; meanwhile the poor lergy are brought to short allowance." We are ready to allow hat the lands acquired on condition of saying masses for dead en were gained under false pretences. We are ready to admit hat it was neither just nor safe to permit one-third of the lands f all England to remain in the hands of the Church. But the lienation of the tithes admits of no defence. No property in he state was held by a more ancient tenure, or on conditions ore advantageous to the people. Wise and thoughtful nonnformists have joined with churchmen in deploring the injury

which religion suffered when the Church's patrimony was thus dispersed and lost. "If," observes Dr. Neal, the historian of the Puritans, "the revenues of the Church had been abused to superstition, they might have been converted to other religious uses; or if too great a proportion of the riches of the kingdom was in the hands of the Church, they should have made an ample provision for the maintenance of the clergy, and the endowment of smaller [illegible] they enriched their friends and families."

On the death of [illegible] occupied the throne; after the abortive attempt t[illegible]y Jane Grey (in obedience to Edward's will, by wh[illegible]d his own sister, in her favour) in that elevated pos[illegible]ntest, if it can be called such, between the rival s[illegible]ather their adherents, was entirely a religious one[illegible]y succeed, popery was re-established; should lad[illegible]e crown, the Protestant cause was safe. The duke of Northumberland, her uncle, with the other branches of her family, were the most powerful faction in the state, and they were heartily committed to the cause of the Reformation. The failure of their daring project was owing partly to the unpopularity of the duke—a misfortune which, in the infancy of a free state, always attends a powerful subject; and still more to the reaction in favour of the old religion. Slow as the progress of the Reformation had been, according to the Puritan party, for its own safety it had evidently gone too fast. King Edward and his Privy Council had been far in advance of the great bulk of an unenlightened people. A demonstration in behalf of Mary, in the county of Suffolk, gathered thousands around her banner. Arrived in London, her first act was to release the Romish prelates, Bonner, Gardiner, and the rest, from the Tower. A week afterwards they were restored to their bishoprics, and the leaders of the Reformation, Cranmer, Hooper, Coverdale, Rogers, and others were sent to occupy their vacant prisons. All men apprehended a terrible storm. A thousand of the Reformers, including five bishops, many noblemen, fifty dignitaries of the Church, and others whose position in society might render them obnoxious, hurried their departure, and fled abroad, chiefly to Geneva, Basle, and Zurich, where the reformed religion was now established. The queen was crowned in October 553, by Gardiner, with all the pomp of the Romish ceremonial.

Parliament assembled, and all the acts of the late reign, and of Henry VIII., by which the Reformation had been promoted and established, were repealed. The mass and the old ceremonies were everywhere revived; the great preachers of the Reformation were imprisoned or had fled; the married clergy, now amounting to many thousands, were deprived. In November, Cardinal Pole arrived as the pope's legate, with a commission to receive the kingdom of England into the bosom of the Catholic Church; and the laws against the assumptions of the pope were all of them removed from the statute book. Acts were even passed for reviving the statutes of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V. for burning heretics. Their work accomplished, Parliament was dismissed, January 16, 1555, leaving England more profoundly papal than at any time during the previous two hundred years.

The year 1555 has been truly described as one of darkness and of blood. England being restored to the Church of Rome was to be deterred from any future lapse by terrible examples. Hooper, the late bishop of Gloucester, was one of the first victims. After a mock trial, for his death was already decreed, he was taken down to Gloucester and burnt, or rather roasted alive, in front of his own cathedral, on the 9th of February. To say nothing of his piety, and the cause for which he suffered, he was a noble specimen of the true English character;—a man of transparent honesty, of dauntless courage, of unshaken constancy, and of warm affections and a loving heart. He wrote in prison, "We are in the utmost peril, as we have been for a year and a half; we are kept asunder, and treated with indignity and scorn. Every day they threaten us with death, which we do not value; we despise both sword and the stake for the sake of Jesus Christ. For we know in whom we have believed, and are sure that he will preserve our souls, which we have committed to him. Meanwhile help us with your prayers; we are the Lord's, let him do what seemeth good in his eyes." This is addressed to Bullinger, the great reformer of Zurich. And there follows a touching request that he "would sometimes favour with a letter his most modest and pious widow, and advise her in the education of his son and daughter." His last words were, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit." He was forbidden to speak, for his enemies feared his eloquence. The warrant for his execution contains these memorable words, "and forasmuch also as the said Hooper is, as

heretics be, a vainglorious person, and delighteth in his tongue, and having liberty may use his said tongue to persuade such as he hath seduced, to persist in the miserable opinion that he hath sown among them: our pleasure is therefore, and we require you to take order, that the said Hooper be neither, at the time of his execution, nor in going to the place thereof, suffered to speak at large; but thither to be led quietly and in silence for eschewing of further infection, [illegible] inconvenience as may otherwise ensue in this part. [illegible]t, as ye tender our pleasure." Within a few days [illegible]leath Rogers was burnt at Smithfield, Saunders [illegible] and Dr. Taylor at Hadley. All these were clergy[illegible]tion, barbarous as it was, was disgusted with these [illegible] was observed that in King Edward's time papist[illegible]rned out of their benefices, and at most imprison[illegible]ven such instances were very few; while now the [illegible] cruelties were practised on innocent men, for they had [illegible]o law. One piece of severity shocked the feelings of the country beyond measure. The council issued an order to the sheriffs of the different counties to exact a promise from the martyrs to make no speeches at the stake, otherwise to cut out their tongues; so to avoid this butchery they promised to obey those cruel orders. Gardiner, less ferocious than Bonner, began to be ashamed of these savage proceedings, which he saw too were producing on the nation effects widely different from those upon which he had calculated. The court affected to dislike them, but it was a mere pretence; and in a few months the fires began to blaze again with greater fury. In July, Bradford, prebendary of St. Paul's, was burned, together with an apprentice, a lad of nineteen, at Smithfield. In the summer of this year of horrors scores were burnt, but the greatest sacrifice was made in October; when Ridley and Latimer, the Protestant bishops of London and Worcester, were consumed at Oxford. Archdeacon Philpot followed in December; and, on the 21st of March, Cranmer himself was conducted to the stake. The examinations which the martyrs underwent were happily made public, for to the agony of death was added the mockery of a public disputation. The champions of the popish part, strong in scholastic learning, and deeply skilled in the dialect subtleties of the schools, were at first eager to provoke a contes and we have, in Foxe and other sources, reports verbally accura

of these proceedings. In every case the real presence was the turning point. The pope's supremacy, the infallibility of the Church, and the weight of tradition, were debated; but the article of life or death was the nature of a sacrament, and more particularly the real presence in the mass. The vindictive nature of Mary and the brutality of Bonner would, no doubt, have required some victims; but it cannot be doubted that vast numbers of the sufferers might have still escaped if they would have confessed the real presence in the mass. One and all they held the doctrine to be idolatrous and blasphemous, and for this they died. Cranmer's examination was held at Oxford, before commissioners appointed by the Crown, and a sub-delegate from the pope, upon the charge of heresy. Of course he was condemned, and his degradation followed. This latter ceremony was performed amidst the jeers of Bonner, while the other commissioner, Thirlby, wept. He was kept for some weeks a prisoner in the dean's lodgings at Christ Church, the sentence of death hanging over him. Here he was treated with courtesy, and surrounded by the most accomplished of the Romish party. He was incessantly solicited to retract his errors and save his life. The gentle spirit and failing courage of an old man of sixty-seven gave way. He set his hand to a paper renouncing all the errors of Luther and Zwinglius, acknowledging the pope's supremacy, the seven sacraments, and the corporal presence in the Eucharist, purgatory, prayer for departed souls, and the invocation of saints; to which was added his confession of sorrow for his former errors; and he concluded with exhorting all that had been deceived by his example or doctrine to return to the unity of the Church; protesting that he had signed the document willingly, and only for the discharge of his own conscience. His enemies gloated over their victim. Mary, nothing softened, was still resolved that he should die. The archbishop had pronounced her mother's divorce, and he had been the ringleader of heresy; and either crime was unpardonable. Instructions were secretly sent down to Oxford to prepare for his execution on the 21st of March, and Cole, provost of Eton, was instructed to draw up a sermon or address for the occasion. On the morning of his death the venerable archbishop, meanly habited, was led in solemn procession to St. Mary's church, a monk on either side of him chanting dirges as he went. He was placed on a raised platform, and Cole began his sermon. "He,"

says Foxe, "that was late archbishop, metropolitan and primate of England, and the king's privy councillor, being now in a bare and ragged gown, and ill-favouredly clothed, with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men, did admonish men, not only of his own calamity, but also of their state and fortune. The lamentable case and sight of that man gave a sorrowful spectacle. A man might have s… image and shape of perfect sorrow lively in him … ore than twenty several times the tears gushed out … dropping down marvellously from his fatherly face. … on ended, Cole invited Cranmer to make a profes… h, not doubting his adherence to the Church of Ro… archbishop's lapse had been of no long continuanc… nticipating, upon reflection, his certain doom, or … ly by a returning sense of truth, he had prepar… ocument, which he now drew from his bosom. He … eep confessions of sin, which were heard with patience and respect; he was interrupted only by his own sobs and tears. "And now," said he, "I come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience, more than anything that ever I did, or said, in my whole life: and that is the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth; which now, here, I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be; and that is all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore; for, may I come to the fire, it shall be first burned." He was led, or rather dragged tumultuously, by the enraged priests to an open space in front of Baliol College, where the fire was lighted, and he was burned to ashes. His constancy amazed his persecutors. He stood in the midst of the flames unmoved as the stake to which he was bound, holding his right hand in the hottest of the fire, and exclaiming, "That unworthy hand!" His last words were those familiar to so many martyrs: "Lord Jesus receive my spirit."

The next day Cardinal Pole succeeded to the vacant see. The queen restored the first fruits and tenths, and, as far as she had the power, the alienated lands; and she founded several monas-

teries. England was once more Roman Catholic in the fullest sense; and in the dismay which overspread them, the Protestants were silent, and their cause seemed lost. But the death of Mary happened in 1558, that of Cardinal Pole followed within a few hours; and the system reared in so much national humiliation, and at the cost of so much blood, fell with them never to be restored. Within three years, according to Burnet, two hundred and eighty-four martyrs suffered by fire. Speed makes them two hundred and seventy-four. Lord Burleigh, in a treatise published during the next reign—"The Execution of Justice in England"—says that, including those who perished in prison from hunger and ill-usage, four hundred suffered; of whom two hundred and ninety were burned.

The accession of Elizabeth changed everything. One of her first acts was to communicate through Sir Edward Karn, the English resident at Rome, the tidings of her sister's death and her own accession. The pope replied, with insolence, that she was illegitimate, that England was held in fee of the apostolic see, and that it was great presumption in her to assume the crown without his permission. Nothing could have been more fortunate for the Reformation. Karn was instantly recalled, and the connection with Rome was at an end.

It is impossible to tell what the consequences would have been to the Reformation had the pope returned a courteous answer. Elizabeth might have found it difficult to escape from her sister's toils, and harassed as she was with a powerful faction at home, who questioned her rights, and were devoted to the papal interests, she might even have been tempted to seek protection from the pontiff. Parliament immediately renewed the laws of Henry VIII. against the pope, and those of Edward VI. in favour of the Protestants, and the severe acts of Mary were repealed. Uniformity of common prayer was now again enacted, and the tenths and first fruits were restored to the crown. The clergy, in convocation, made a protest, through Bonner, on behalf of the Romish doctrines, and it was thought well to hold a disputation at Westminster, in March, 1559, and three questions were debated between the leaders of the two parties:—First, whether service and sacraments ought to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; second, whether the Church hath not power to alter ceremonies, so that all be done to edification; third, whether the

mass be a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead. The Romish party complained of some of the arrangements, and the discussion was closed abruptly. It is not easy to perceive what advantages were expected from it, unless, indeed, it were meant to show how little could be said in defence of those doctrines which the protest maintained. The Romish bishops were now deprived for refusing to take the oath of supremacy; three of them fled beyond the seas; Bonner was imprisoned in the Marshalsea. It was a measure of real kindness to one who deserved a harsher fate; "a jail," says Fuller, "being conceived the safest place to secure him from people's fury, every hand itching to give a good squeeze to that sponge of blood." Watson, bishop of Lincoln, and White, of Winchester, threatening to excommunicate the queen, were committed to prison, where they remained till their death. Bishops Tunstall and Thirlby were placed in custody with Archbishop Parker, the Protestant primate, and treated with consideration and respect. Heath, late archbishop of York, was allowed to retire and to live in comfort, if not in affluence; so, too, were other bishops of the party, until the pope, by his bull, endeavoured to excite rebellion, when some of them "being found busier in matters of state," says Lord Burleigh, in the tract above mentioned, "tending to stir troubles than was meet for the quiet of the realm, were removed to other more private places." On the whole, the Romish party were treated with great forbearance. The mild spirit of the Reformation had already streaked with light the horizon, hitherto so dark and chilling, of our penal laws.

Some of the reformed divines were now appointed to review King Edward's liturgy. It was recommended to them by the council that no express definition should exclude the belief of the corporal presence in the sacrament; and, in consequence, the rubric, which declared "That no adoration is intended to any corporal presence of Christ's flesh and blood," was now left out. The Act of Uniformity was passed, compelling the use of the new prayer-book. Towards the close of the year, December 17, 1559, Parker was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, by the imposition of the hands of Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgskin, bishops of Edward VI., who had been deprived in the late reign. He proceeded forthwith to fill up the vacant bishoprics. Grindal was consecrated bishop of London; Coxe, of Ely; Sandys, of

ter; Jewel, of Salisbury; Parkhurst, of Norwich; Horne, chester. Barlow and Scory were placed at Chichester reford. Coverdale, an old man of seventy-two, the trans- the Bible, and former bishop of Exeter, was passed over glect, though Grindal earnestly recommended him to the Llandaff. Seldom has any Church been blessed with so vise and good men in her episcopate at the same time.

nctions were issued by the crown, similar to those of Ed- I., for the suppression of superstitious practices and the ment of the Reformation. A declaration of faith, and of ucipal articles of religion, was published by the prelates, nmanded to be read by the clergy. It is brief and simple, ng of eleven articles. The first, second, and third assert ty of God, the sufficiency of Holy Scripture, and the na- d authority of a true Church; the fourth and fifth assert essity of a lawful call to the ministry, and the doctrine of en's supremacy. The remainder, with the exception of enth, are directed against the errors of the Romish . The seventh, which laid unfortunately the foundation her schism, affirms that the Book of Common Prayer and istration of the Holy Sacraments, set forth by the authority iament, is agreeable to the Scriptures; and that it is and apostolic, and most for the advancing of God's glory e edifying of God's people; both for that it is in a tongue ay be understood of the people, and also for the doctrine m of administration contained in the same. To this the party objected; they neither liked the habits or vest- commanded to be worn, nor did they think the prayer- tself free from superstition. The history of the Church land, from the first of Elizabeth to the restoration of s II., is little else than a history of this painful con- y.

Reformation was now completed nearly as it stands. No er encountered more serious difficulties than the Reform- he hatred of their opponents, and the impetuosity of their , the apathy of a sluggish clergy, the checks of the Privy l, and the inconsistent example and overbearing temper of een were all against them. The concessions made in the ayer-book on the subject of the real presence were wrung iem with the greatest reluctance, and out of deference to

the council, who argued that all the queen's subjects ought, if possible, to be comprehended in the national Church; that it was enough to condemn transubstantiation, and leave the mode of Christ's presence an open question. There was a wish, too, to comprehend the Lutherans. The queen was strangely fond of religious pomp, and the service in her chapel was conducted with magnificence; a huge crucifix stood upon the altar. Jewel writes to his friend, Peter M th of February, 1560, upon the subject, in great urst and Coxe defended it against himself and smile to think," he says, the day before a dis hem on the subject, "with what grave and solid y mean to defend their dear little cross (suam cruc as I can see, I shall be no bishop when I write to ings are come to such a pass that I believe we mus the crosses we have everywhere been breaking p our bishoprics." Sandys, of Worcester, wrote to nerable friend, in April, to express similar anxieties. "Hitherto," he says, "through God's mercy, the doctrine of the eucharist has not been assaulted; it remains with us safe and sound, and we hope it will continue to do so; but we have some controversy about images; her majesty thinks it not contrary to the word of God, nay, an advantage to religion, that an image of Christ crucified, with those of Mary and John, should be placed in a conspicuous part of the church, and be seen by all the people. Some of us think very differently, especially since, in our last visitation we ordered, and that by the authority of the State, that all such images should not only be removed but burnt, and because the superstitious and ignorant people worship this idol more than the others." And he proceeds to intimate the probability that he, too, should be removed from his office and incur the queen's displeasure; but such extreme measures were not resorted to; though for the present, in the judgment of a large party, the Reformation was imperfect. The question with such men was, whether it were better to acquiesce in certain advantages now secured by law, or to place the Reformation itself in peril by throwing themselves in opposition to the queen and the nobility. (See "Original Letters of the Reformers," in Burnet, and the "Zurich Letters," Cambridge, 184

It must not be supposed, however, that Jewel, with all his scr s upon these points, was altogether disaffected to the m

institutions. He thankfully accepted the Church of England as it stood, though, on some points, he would have been glad to extend the Reformation further. Soon afterwards he published his "Apology for the Church of England." It won at once the warmest praises of the foreign Reformers. Bullinger, Gaulter, Wolfius, and Peter Martyr congratulate the author with unaffected warmth. "You have raised," says the latter, "by this, your most elegant and learned apology, a confidence in all good and learned men that the reformed religion will never want an advocate while you survive. I rejoice that I have lived to see the day which has made you the author of a work so famous and so eloquent." It was received at home as an accredited and public confession of the Catholic faith of the Church of England. It was published at the express command of the queen, and at her expense. It had the sanction of the Convocation, and was intended by Archbishop Parker to accompany the Articles; which were now finally settled as an authoritative exposition of the faith and doctrine of the Church.

Parliament assembled on the 12th of January, 1562; Convocation the day afterwards. In the former an Act was passed by which all persons who maintained the pope's authority within this realm incurred a premunire for the first offence, and were guilty of high treason for the second. The bill was strongly opposed in both Houses; and a clause was introduced by which members of the House of Peers were exempted from the oath of supremacy. The archbishop of Canterbury, by the queen's order, also instructed the bishops not to tender the oath except in cases of necessity, and never to press it a second time without a special direction. So gently were the recusants dealt with, while the fires of Smithfield had scarcely ceased to smoke. Bonner, with two or three of the most obnoxious of the popish clergy, were imprisoned; the rest lived unmolested, in ease, and some of them in affluence.

The Convocation was intended to confirm and complete the ecclesiastical polity of England. It had a licence from the queen to review the doctrine and discipline of the Church, to reform ecclesiastical abuses, and to repair the corruptions which time and neglect had introduced. Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, was chosen prolocutor. The forty-two articles of King Edward VI. were taken as the basis of the English confession, and were now

reduced to thirty-nine. Cranmer and Ridley had framed the articles of Edward. These of Elizabeth were drawn up by Parker, with the assistance of Jewel and others. Since the death of Edward, the Council of Trent had been sitting, and a papal nuncio had arrived here to solicit Elizabeth's presence, in person or by her deputies. A personal solicitation to the same effect had been addressed to Jewel. The nuncio was forbidden to appear in England, a lied by disclaiming the pretensions of the counci h, he said, was not the only nation which refused Trent; for the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antio ndria, declined to come; and in Europe, the kingdo and Denmark, many of the Germanic states, and publics, had no representatives. The ancient fa declined to appear at councils, which were notor and prejudiced; and Jewel, after having adduced stances, applied them to the case in point. He ex[p] irprise that the pope should summon the English to the council, who had been pronounced heretics by his predecessor. In what character could they appear? Why must they take so long a journey to plead as criminals? They could expect only the alternative of being obliged to recant, or of incurring the anathema of the council.

These events may be distinctly traced in the articles themselves. The sixth article, for instance, on the sufficiency of Holy Scripture for salvation, is levelled against Tridentine errors. King Edward's article affirmed that the Scriptures are a complete and sufficient rule of faith; that of Elizabeth goes further —in rejecting the apocryphal books, and enumerating those of the sacred canon; whereas the Council of Trent declared the canonical and apocryphal books to be of equal authority. All the articles against the errors of the Church of Rome were retained. It has been thought, however, that some concession was intended by the alteration made in the twenty-eighth article, upon the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. King Edward's article assigned a metaphysical argument as a ground of objection to the real presence; namely, the impossibility that a natural body should be at one and the same time in many places; a this argument was now left out: and the article merely affirm that "transubstantiation cannot be proved by Holy Writ; b is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth t

ature of a sacrament, and has given occasion to many superstiions." But it has been replied, and we think with some force, hat the metaphysical argument is by no means the strongest gainst the doctrine in question. And that, to omit an argument which an opponent thinks to be without weight, while thers are brought forward which he makes no attempt to nswer, is at least no proof of a disposition to temporise. Four rticles were omitted, either as referring to controversies which ad passed away, or as condemning dogmas on which difference f opinion might be safely permitted to exist; as, for instance, hat the souls of the deceased do not perish with their bodies, or sleep without sense till the last day, and that the millenium contrary to the Scripture, and "a Jewish dotage." A clause the twentieth article, "that the Church has power to decree tes and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith," has ven rise to a long and angry dispute. The Puritans denied the uth of this proposition altogether; and, as several of the Puritan aders subscribed the articles, the consistency of the party is the oint at issue. Nor is it a point easily settled. The original inutes of the Convocation have perished. Archbishop Laud, nd Heylin, his chaplain, declare that they had consulted the cords and found the contested clause. On the other hand, here are two manuscripts of the articles in the library of Corpus hristi College, Cambridge, amongst other papers belonging to rchbishop Parker, in neither of which is the clause contained. he inference which the Puritans have drawn is, that it was terpolated, either through neglect or fraud. Strype, however, ho was learned and diligent in antiquarian research, decides in vour of its genuineness. Fuller doubts, and is unable to decide. t is found in the first printed copy of the article, and was a art of it when the articles received the sanction of Parliament n 1571. The question, further than as it affects the integrity f the ruling powers of that period, is, therefore, purely one of terary curiosity.

To this famous Convocation the Church of England owes a rge debt of gratitude. If its labours in some points fall short f our wishes, leaving unsettled questions of discipline which ave rankled ever since, in others, pertaining to the establishment f sound doctrine, they are beyond all praise. No synod of the hurch, in any age or country, has done so much as the Con-

vocation of 1562 to define and promulgate the pure doctrine of God's revelation. The value of the thirty-nine articles can be fully appreciated by those only who compare them with the standards of faith of other countries. We need not hesitate to affirm, that for simplicity and comprehensiveness, for brevity and fulness, they are unrivalled. On disputable points of doctrine their statements are clear while their views are moderate. Without being in the slighte[st] [li]able to the charge of treating divine truth with levity[,] [or] in any material point uncertain or imperfectly[,] they exhibit a catholicity of temper, and a willing[ness] for diversities of opinion, which, if not perfect, [is] [e]ven now, unequalled. Most, indeed, of the quarrels [that] [ha]ve rent the Church of England ever since, may be trac[ed] [to] opposition to cramp and fetter the doctrinal statemen[ts] [of] thirty-nine articles. Nor are these our only obligati[ons] [to] the Convocation of 1562. The two books of homilies were [also] [pu]blished. They were the work of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. The first book, consisting of twelve homilies, was published by Edward VI.; the second book had been completed about the time of his death, and laid aside. Both were now issued by authority; with the exception of the homily on rebellion, which was added a few years after, when the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland had raised a seditious movement in the north. The prolocutor, Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, was instructed to draw up a Latin catechism for the use of schools and students in theology. It was undertaken by the advice of Cecil, to whom it is dedicated. It was reviewed and corrected by the Convocation, and although it never obtained a place amongst the authorized formularies of the Church, it is the work of a master-hand. The bishop of London recommended it to the study of his clergy; it was long used in our great schools, and is still in the hands of our students for the ministry. Above all, to this Convocation we are indebted for the Bishops' Bible: an authorized version of great worth, which was used in the public service of the Church nearly forty years, until it was superseded by King James's Bible, the authorized version still in use. Before this time, the old translations of Wickliffe and Tindal, and more lately that of Coverdale, had been in general use. The bishops were now directed to undertake a new version; Parker had the chief direction, and the work, though

exclusively, was principally the fruit of the zeal and learning of our English bishops, from whence its name.

But on matters of Church discipline the Convocation was not by any means so fortunate. The differences from which Puritanism grew were already at work. They had reference exclusively at this period, and indeed long afterwards, to points of discipline and to questions of Church polity. No doctrinal matters were involved. The difficulty which confronted the Convocation was this: how to frame a ceremonial and Church order which should be sufficiently simple to embrace the Puritans, on the one hand, and yet should not disgust the queen and the court party, who were still attached to the pomp of the Romish service, though not to the doctrines of the Romish Church, on the other. Many eminent members of the Convocation, including several of the bishops, would have made concessions to the Puritans, or rather would have claimed them on behalf of a party with whom they were identified. But, in order to understand the subject, the reader should be made acquainted with the proposals which were made in convocation, and these we shall briefly mention. Bishop Sandys, of Worcester, first brought in "a paper of advice," to move the queen that private baptism, and baptism by women, may be taken out of the Common Prayer-book; that the cross in baptism may be disallowed, as needless and superstitious; and that commissioners may be appointed to reform the ecclesiastical laws. Another paper was presented to the house with the following requests, signed by thirty-three names:—That the Psalms may be sung distinctly by the whole congregation, and that organs may be laid aside; that none may baptize but ministers, and that they may leave off the sign of the cross; that, at the ministration of the communion, the posture of kneeling may be left indifferent; that the use of copes and surplices may be taken away, so that all ministers in their ministry use a grave and comely side garment (or long robe), as they commonly do in preaching; that ministers be not compelled to wear such gowns and caps as the enemies of Christ's gospel have chosen to be the special array of their priesthood; that the words in the thirty-third article, concerning the punishment of those who do not in all things conform to the public order about ceremonies, may be mitigated; that all saints' days, festivals, and holidays, bearing the name of a

creature, may be abrogated; or, at least, a commemoration only of them reserved by sermons, homilies, or common prayer, for the better instructing the people in history, and that after service men may go to work. This latter paper was signed by Nowel, Sampson, dean of Christchurch, the deans of Lichfield, Hereford, and Exeter, the provost of Eton, twelve archdeacons, and fourteen proctors or representatives of the clergy. It was not approved; but an[illegible]ediately introduced into the lower house, containing [illegible] articles:—That all Sundays in the year, and princi[illegible]hrist, be kept holidays, and that all other holidays [illegible] that, in all parish churches, the minister in comm[illegible] his face towards the people, and there read distinc[illegible] appointed, that the people may hear and be ed[illegible] baptism the cross may be omitted, as tending to [illegible] Forasmuch as divers communicants are not able[illegible]age, or sickness, at the sacrament, and others kneel and KNOCK superstitiously, that therefore the order of kneeling may be left to the discretion of the ordinary; that it may be sufficient for the minister, in time of saying divine service and ministering of the sacraments (once), to wear a surplice; and that no minister say service, or minister the sacrament, but in a comely garment or habit; that the use of organs be removed.

The propositions were the subject of great debate. Upon a division it appeared that they were carried by a majority of the members who were present. But votes by proxy were allowed in Convocation, and when these were counted the scale was turned and the propositions were lost; though by the smallest possible majority, a majority of one. From this hour we must date, whether for good or evil, the growth of nonconformity and the existence of Protestant dissent in England. We relate in a separate article the chequered history of the PURITANS; their rapid growth, their marvellous power, their sudden collapse. Some of their leaders, without seceding from the Church, refused, from motives of conscience, to wear the surplice or comply with the ceremonies, and declined preferment. Amongst these were Coverdale and Foxe. Coverdale, the first Protestant [illegible] of Exeter, in the reign of Edward VI., was one of the learned divines of a learned age. With the assistance of [illegible]nd Tyndal, he had translated the Bible into

ɔd years had passed since Wickliffe had translated it, and rsion, so rapidly had the language changed, was then as ɛe to common readers as it is to us. In the days of Mary s imprisoned and narrowly escaped the fire; he assisted at ɪsecration of Parker, but was now passed over and suffered into extreme poverty. Being old and poor, Grindal, of London, gave him the small living of St. Magnus, n Bridge. Here he remained two years; but, not con-g, was persecuted and expelled. The act of uniformity ɪt down his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. Foxe ɪed his famous martyrology in 1561: it was of great to the Reformation: it was dedicated to the queen, in the parish churches, ordered to be kept in the houses superior clergy, so as always to be accessible to their and servants, and was read by thousands. Yet Foxe sank ant, and had he not obtained, through the intercession of ɔowerful friend, a small prebend at Salisbury, he might lied in utter destitution. The history of the Church of ɪd through the long reign of Elizabeth, is a painful of the widening breach between the prelates and the ns. Omitting this there are two points to which, at this of our task, we direct the reader's attention. These are, ɪe state of morals amongst the people; and, secondly, the ɔf doctrine in the Church, under the sway of the mag-t Elizabeth.

he stories repeated by the commissioners whom Henry employed upon the dissolution of the religious houses rue, the surface of England was defiled with luxurious ɜhments in which the foulest crimes which disgrace the of man, and the nature of woman, were committed with ɪty, and almost without concealment. It is just, however, ember, that the accusations were brought by a party whose t it was to exaggerate faults, and that the inquiry itself eant as a decent pretext for spoliation. But no doubt s, all such deductions being made from the mass of evi-brought forward, that in some cases horrible depravity, others sloth and indolence and gross neglect existed. were the condition of the teachers, still worse must have ɪe condition of the taught. The people of England had ɪped the benefit, even in the Roman Catholic sense, of

Roman Catholic institutions. The papacy had never dealt fairly with Great Britain. Her sheep in these remote dependencies had been fleeced for the benefit of her more favoured creatures; and, in consequence, literature, science, and religious knowledge, were at a lower ebb than amongst the nations of Southern Europe, where Rome was lavish of her kindness. The Reformation, we have no doubt whatever, found the people of England in a much l than that in which William the Norman found t glo-Saxon village or provincial town was more refin ous, and had a juster sense of the requirements of r vas possessed in the same spot five hundred years a e Reformation dawned. The revival of letters had ed the multitude; in England it had scarcely shed a xcept upon the lofty cathedral and the lordly castle the Lollards, it is true, light from another source l . They read the Bible, they understood and practised its pure morality, they fed upon its doctrines; but after all the Lollards were but few, too few to produce any visible impression upon the character of the masses among whom they were dispersed.

A furious civil war had raged for the greater part of the previous century. Its calamities fell most heavily upon the noble houses, but the common people suffered to a great extent. During a period of forty years battles were fought incessantly, and the whole country was the theatre of a long campaign. Whatever the religious institutions of England might have been, it is impossible that the people should not have sunk lower in morals and religion. Foreigners noticed with admiration how little there was of personal malice and individual cruelty in these contests as compared with other countries; but still the effect could not fail to be calamitous. The age of chivalry was already declining, and chivalrous sentiments never had much influence upon the lower classes or the common soldier. A scene of war must have been a scene of barbarism; and during the wars of the fifteenth century the people of England acquired a taste for blood which was long visible upon the national character. It was this no doubt that disposed their children to look on with so much indifference when boys and women were burnt alive in Smithfield in the days of Mary.

The destruction of the monastic property and the alienation

inconsiderable portion of the tithes, had severely crippled eformation. The Reformers had no share in this wanton ge; they deplored it, and protested against it, in the most n manner, in their sermons, and in the presence of king rd and his court. Superstition, if no higher principle, mposed at least some useful restraints, and these were n down. Such a reaction followed, as must always follow, a people suddenly discovers that its passions have been ined by impostures such as are practised upon children. time, in many parishes, where abbies had existed, the and impositions of the monks were laughed at; but ng better yet occupied the vacant place. A report was ht in from Worcester and Warwickshire which represents nanners of the gentry as almost uniformly licentious and ved. They had been left in fact for some years, that is, the destruction of the monastic system, without discipline almost without instruction. Mary's short reign was spent rning heretics rather than in reclaiming Catholics; and on ccession of Elizabeth, the Reformers had the difficult task e them, not only of building without materials, and of pro- for the national instruction out of the wreck of the ch's property, but of instructing a generation who while had learned to despise the superstition of their parents nerely exchanged superstition for indifference or total un- rn.

d, as if these difficulties were not enough, the Reformers had ecute their work with inefficient labourers. Had the Romish resigned, Protestants might have been found whose zeal and would have made amends for their want of learning; if d the learning of the parochial clergy of the Romish Church, at day, had been such as to throw the slightest shade upon onest zeal of a Reformer destitute of scholastic lore and inted only with his Bible. But very few of them resigned livings. Out of ten thousand parishes, not quite three red incumbents were willing to make the sacrifice of their ices, from their attachment to the ancient faith. Many of new converts, probably the majority, were incompetent sincere. The reforming leaders knew this, and deeply red it. The instructions issued by Grindal and others, to clergy, were such as could only be addressed to men whose

fidelity was doubtful or whose capacity was mean. But they tendered a show of conformity, and this was all that could be exacted. In many counties not one minister could preach a sermon out of twenty parishes. The vicar too often could scarcely stumble through the prayers. The bishop of Worcester, preaching before Elizabeth, told her that "many of her subjects had not had the opportu[illegible]g to a sermon for six years. I might say," he ad[illegible]n; and yet for their souls somebody must some[illegible]at."

Such were the dif[illegible] Reformers, and over such difficulties did the Re[illegible]uph. Elizabeth reigned five and forty years; duri[illegible]he nation grew from infancy to manhood; from [illegible] high pitch of civilization; from ignorance exten[illegible]nd, and, except in the higher classes, all but univer[illegible] of knowledge, on matters of civil polity, of religion[illegible]istory, and of those arts and sciences which contribute to the comfort and the luxury of domestic life, such as many European nations have not overtaken to the present hour. When Elizabeth ascended the throne, not one English author existed whose works, had they perished for ever, would have left a chasm in any literature, except that of the English antiquarian or archæologist. When she died, England had produced a roll of philosophers, historians, divines, and poets, sufficient, had she then been swept from the catalogue of nations, to have secured for her a place with Greece, and Rome, and Italy, amongst the great lights and instructors of the earth. The Reformation set the struggling infant free, and it sprung at once into a gigantic, but not precocious, manhood.

Amongst the ecclesiastical events which throw light upon the moral and intellectual state of England under Elizabeth, we must mention the prophesyings, first began at Northampton, 1575. These were associations for mutual instruction; the word prophesying being used as by St. Paul in the New Testament, to signify public teaching or preaching, and not the prediction of things to come. This remark is necessary to meet a misapprehension which even then prevailed, namely, that the members of these societies affected to be endowed with prescience and the gift of prophecy. In the present state of the Church of England, when all her devout members are anxiously considering how her influence may be extended in our large towns and teeming

›pulations, it cannot be uninteresting to call attention to this eat, though as it proved abortive, movement in the same rection two hundred years ago. At Northampton the society as formed by the clergy of the town, with the approbation of ıe bishop, mayor, and magistrates of the town and county. he members signed a confession of faith of three articles: the rst asserting the sufficiency of Scripture; the second condemn-g popery; the third binding the subscribers to submit to be ›verned and instructed by the rule of the Holy Scripture; "and ı judge all other doctrines whatsoever by this pure word as by certain rule and perfect touchstone." They agreed also upon rtain rules for discipline, such as, when sanctioned by the ahop, do not appear to have involved either the assumption of ıthority or the disregard of canonical restraints. They provide r a reverent observance of the Lord's day in the town, with equent sermons, and communions once a quarter. One of the ıles provides that the youth shall, every Sunday evening, be ıamined in a portion of Calvin's catechism, which the reader ıall expound for an hour. We suspect that Nowel's catechism as meant, which so much resembles Calvin's, that it is still isputed whether Nowel intended to do more than to present ıe Genevan divine in a better form and more adapted to ıe use of the English Church. A great clamour was raised gainst the prophesyings, which indeed has never ceased; but ıe use of Calvin's catechism was not urged against them as ıy proof of disaffection. Another article, "that singing and laying of organs in the choir shall be put down," gave far more fence, as indicating a tendency towards the scruples of the uritans. The prophesyings, or religious exercises, were con-ıcted by rules which it may be worth while to lay before the ader. They were these:—

That every minister, at his first allowance to be of this ex-rcise, shall by subscription declare his consent in Christ's true ligion with his brethren, and submit to the discipline and order f the same.

The names of all the members shall be written in a table; ıree of whom shall be concerned at each service: the first, eginning and ending with prayer, shall explain his text, and ›nfute foolish interpretations, and then make practical reflection, ut not dilate to a common place.

Those that speak after, may add anything they think the other has omitted, tending to explain the text; but may not repeat what has been said, nor oppose their predecessor, unless he has spoken contrary to the Scriptures.

The exercise to continue from nine to eleven; the first speaker to end in three quarters of an hour, the second and third not to exceed each one quarter of an hour; one of the moderators always to conclude.

After the exercise is over, and the auditors dismissed, the president shall call the learned brethren to him to give their judgment of the performances, when it shall be lawful for any of the brethren to propose their objections against them in writing, which shall be answered before the next exercise.

If any break orders, the president shall command him, in the name of the eternal God, to be silent; and after the exercise he shall be reprimanded.

When the exercise is finished the next speaker shall be appointed, and his text given to him.

The prophesyings were sanctioned by many of the bishops, and they were cordially approved by Grindal, who had now succeeded Parker in the primacy. But the cry of puritanism was raised, the queen was timid or suspicious, and an order was issued for their suppression. The archbishop addressed to her a long and solemn expostulation; he represented, in painful colours, the spiritual destitution of the land, the want of able preachers, the promising signs which had attended these exercises, and the right her people had to meet together and expound or listen to the word of God. Elizabeth was irritated, the venerable prelate was suspended, and would probably have been deprived, had not his death, which occurred soon afterwards, removed him beyond the power of his imperious sovereign. What would have been the effect upon the fortunes of the Church of England, and the character of the English people, had the prophesyings been encouraged, can only be a subject of conjecture. They seem to have supplied to the great and energetic founder of the Wesleyan societies in the last century, the idea of those social meetings in which the laity were to sustain an important part, though still under the guidance of their pastors; and in which the strength of Methodism consists. The want of some institution of this kind is very often lamented by those who are most affectionately

attached to the National Church. And under various forms, exercises, similar in character to these famous prophesyings, are found once more in not a few of those parishes in which her ministry is conducted by the most zealous and efficient of the clergy.

In doctrine the Church of England, throughout the reign of Elizabeth, adhered simply to the authorized standards of the Reformation. The attention of her great divines was unhappily confined to the Romish controversy on the one side, to that with the Puritans on the other. No great work appeared in pure theology. The Reformers were soon followed by a race of theologians, with one or two exceptions, visibly inferior; who seem to have contented themselves with studying the works of the great men of the Reformation and the ancient fathers, instead of attempting to enlarge the stock of profound and systematic divinity by any important contributions of their own. Calvin's Institutes were read in our Universities; and Bullinger's Decades, a work of the same kind, was especially recommended to the studies of the clergy. Whitgift, who succeeded Grindal as archbishop of Canterbury, wrote with ability, but only on the question of the times, the Puritan controversy. His work would probably still have been read with pleasure if it had not been superseded by that great monument of intellectual strength, the Ecclesiastical Polity of Richard Hooker. Four books of this great work were published in 1594, the fifth in 1597, the remaining part not till after Hooker's death. Professing to be a defence of the Church of England from popery and puritanism, there are in fact few doctrinal questions of importance that are not discussed in it It is the great storehouse from which divines have long gathered their most effective arguments in defence of our National Church, as well as their clearest expositions of her doctrine. It would be unbecoming to affect a criticism of a work which has for more than two hundred years been allowed by all readers, of all parties, to rank among the great productions of great men. Its faults have been keenly exposed by the many opponents of those principles it was written to defend. The style is harsh, the argument occasionally dry, and the work, always sagacious not unfrequently profound, is still somewhat distasteful to the reader. There are passages of great eloquence, but it is the eloquence that instructs; it is

without warmth and creates no enthusiasm. Hooker was the morning preacher at the Temple Church, and was heard by a listless audience.

It is admitted by all parties that, throughout the former part of Elizabeth's reign, doctrinal Calvinism prevailed in the English Church. As the fervour of the Reformation cooled, zeal and piety partook of its decay. Calvinism became hard and systematic; its more questionable and least important points were thrust into foremost places, and, instead of calm and gentle reverence, the sharp scholastic spirit began to make its appearance in the discussion of sacred things. Disputes naturally followed. What was maintained with a spirit too peremptory on the one side was contradicted in a spirit no less rash and daring on the other; and, in an incredibly short space of time, the Church of England was in a blaze with fires which are not yet extinguished. The Calvinistic controversy broke out at Cambridge in 1595, and soon overspread the land. It was not properly a contest with the Puritans; for, though all the Puritans were Calvinists, yet all the Calvinists were not Puritans; in fact, the highest post in the Church of England was then filled by a man who was equally famous for his severity against the Puritans and his supralapsarian views of doctrine. The contest originated thus: Baroe, the Margaret professor of divinity, in a prelection before the University, affirmed the doctrine of universal redemption; that it is the will of God that all mankind should have eternal life, if they believe and persevere in the faith of Christ; but if they do not believe, or fall short in their perseverance, then it is not the will of God that they should be saved. Barret, a Fellow of Caius College, preached before the University in the same strain, with the addition, not unusual in those times even in the pulpit, of personal invectives against his opponents; mentioning the names of Peter Martyr, Calvin, Beza, and Zanchius, with contempt. The heads of houses remonstrated at Lambeth. Barret was sent for, and having been examined before the archbishop and some other divines, was enjoined to confess his ignorance and be silent for the future; but he left the University in disgust and shortly became a Papist. In the next century, Arminianism and Popery were always classed together, as though they had been of one blood. It is curious to see, in this instance, an illustra-

tion of the tendency to Rome in the first abettors of Arminianism in England; and yet the connexion has no real foundation either in logic or in history. To appease the tumult, Whitgift drew up nine propositions, commonly called the Lambeth Articles; they had the consent of the bishops of London, Bangor, and others, and of Young, bishop of Rochester (who excepted, however, to the words printed in italic letters), Dr Whittaker, master of St. John's, Cambridge, and other eminent divines, all stanch Episcopalians.

They were as follows:—

I. God from all eternity has predestinated some persons to life; some he has reprobated to death.

II. The moving or efficient cause of predestination to life is not the foreseeing of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works, or of anything which may exist in the person predestinated, but the will and pleasure of God alone.

III. Of the predestinated the number is certain and foreordained, it can neither be increased or diminished.

IV. They who are not predestinated to salvation shall *necessarily* be condemned for their sins.

V. True, living, and justifying faith, and the Spirit of God justifying, is not extinguished, does not fail, or vanish in the elect, either finally or totally.

VI. A man truly faithful, that is, endued with justifying faith, has the full assurances of faith, of the remission of his sins, and of his eternal salvation by Christ.

VII. Saving grace, by which they might be saved, *if they would*, is not assigned, communicated, or granted to all men.

VIII. No one is able to come to Christ, unless it be given him, and unless the Father draw him, and all men are not drawn by the Father, so that they may come to the Son.

IX. It is not placed within the power or will of every man to be saved.

These articles were transmitted to Cambridge by the archbishop, with an injunction that they should be received by the University, and form the standard of its teaching upon the controverted points. This was done, he said, simply to explain the undoubted meaning of the Church of England, and not with any intention of imposing new statutes or interpretations.

In his letter sent to the University with the articles, he says,

"they are not to be regarded as new laws and decrees, but only as application of certain points which they apprehend to be true, and correspondent to the doctrine professed in the Church of England, and already established by the laws of the land;" and he adds that, "forasmuch as they had not the queen's sanction, he desires they may not become a public Act, but be used privately and with discretion;" yet he says her Majesty was fully persuaded of the truth of them. If so, her conduct afterwards was scarcely generous towards Whitgift.

The truth is, no doubt, that he presumed too much on her Majesty's favour, but that if no ill consequences had ensued he might have been unmolested. But the University was not disposed to bow to Whitgift. A breach was opening which yawned in the next century into a fearful gulf; for the present it was closed by the queen's resolution. Cecil Lord Burghley was chancellor of Cambridge, and it is probable that these articles were communicated to him as they were to the queen. His vigorous mind and sound judgment led him to foresee the evil consequences of these discussions in a seat of learning. He entered into a long correspondence with Whitgift, in which he expressed his disapprobation of the course pursued by the high Calvinistic party. The queen addressed, through him, a remonstrance to the archbishop. "She misliked much that any allowance had been given by his Grace and his brethren for any such points to be disputed, being a matter tender and dangerous to weak, ignorant minds; and thereupon commanded him to suspend the urging them publicly, or suffering them to be debated in the pulpit." The propositions are drawn up in the spirit, if not in the very words, of St. Augustine; but they pronounce with confidence upon several points on which the Reformers had been silent. The first article asserts, for instance, the doctrine of reprobation, which is neither asserted nor implied in the standards of our faith—nor, indeed, do any of the foreign Churches assert in their confessions the absolute decree of reprobation as stated by Whitgift. The queen, with her usual independence, punished both parties; Whitgift and the University, by her frown; while Baroe, the Arminian champion, was dismissed from his professorship. These events took place in the year 1595, when her reign was drawing to a close.

James I. succeeded to her throne in 1603. There had been for some years a lull in the storm which had previously agitated the Church of England; Puritans and Prelatists, with one consent, abiding their time in expectation of the new policy of another sovereign: and, such were the circumstances of James, and such his character, that all parties calculated with equal confidence upon his favour. He was the son of Roman Catholic parents; he had been baptized into the Church of Rome; and his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, of whom he always spoke with reverence, was considered by Romanists as no less than a martyr for the faith. He had expressed no strong dislike to the doctrines, though he detested the usurpations, of the Romish see. The Romish party, still powerful in England, welcomed him with joy, and petitioned immediately for an open toleration of their worship, which, since the pope's excommunication of Elizabeth, they had not been permitted to enjoy.

Whitgift and the High Church party calculated with at least equal reason upon his support. They might readily believe that a young king would not be reluctant to break through the restraints, not to say the thraldom, in which he had been held by the Presbyterian clergy in Scotland, and place himself at the head of an established Church, powerful and magnificent, and already strongly rooted in the affections of the English nation. The doctrines of the two national Churches knew at this time no shade of difference, and our preference for Episcopacy did not prevent an almost perfect union between the sister Churches. James's policy naturally would be to propitiate his new subjects, and not to disturb the institutions which he found existing. Elizabeth's death was no sooner known than Whitgift, ever watchful for the Church, sent the dean of Canterbury to Scotland, to assure the king of the unfeigned devotion of the English Church to his person, and to commend it to his protection. The answer of James was short, but it was considered satisfactory: "he would uphold the government of the Church as the queen had left it."

Yet the Puritans, even those of them who sighed for a Genevan Church and a Presbyterian ministry, not unreasonably believed that James was, in heart, their friend. For, in Scotland, he had not been satisfied with yielding a courteous submission to the Presbyterian Church, he had on all occasions magnified its pre-

tensions, and had even drawn invidious contrasts between the purity of the faith at home and the imperfect reformation of the Church which had taken place in England. Standing up in the General Assembly, convened at Edinburgh, with uncovered head and uplifted hands, "he praised God that he was born in the time of the light of the Gospel, and in such a place, as to be king of such a Church, the sincerest kirk in the world." "The Church of Geneva," he said, "keep Pasche and Yule" (that is Easter and Christmas), "what have they for them? They have no institutions. As for our neighbour Kirk of England, their service is an evil-said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but its liftings. I charge you, my good ministers, doctors, elders, noblemen, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same." In his speech to his Parliament in Scotland, not long before the death of Elizabeth, he assured the estates that he had no intention to introduce papistical or Anglican bishops. And finally, when he left his native country, to take possession of the crown of England, he gave public thanks to God, in the kirk of Edinburgh, that he left both kirk and kingdom in that state which he never intended to alter, while his subjects lived in peace. Before he had arrived in London, the Puritans met him on his way, and presented the millenary petition, so called because it was intended to bear the signatures of a thousand hands, but the names actually subscribed were about eight hundred. They were neither factious men, they said, affecting equality in the Church, nor schismatics, aiming at its overthrow. They stated their demands under four heads, and prayed for a remission of their grievances, and for a moderate reform. Their requests on many points were reasonable, and upon none were they violent and factious, though in some of the details ill-considered, and, perhaps, impracticable. Still the acknowledged defects of the Reformation seemed to justify their prayer that the Church might be carefully reviewed, and that all its institutions might be brought into perfect harmony with each other and the word of God. They were met in no friendly spirit. The two English universities were prompt to answer the petition, and to protest against the concessions demanded by the Puritans. James resolved to have the matters in dispute debated before him, by the representatives of the two parties; and the conference at Hampton Court (of which a fuller

account is given in our article on the PURITANS) was called in January 1604. The conference brought no relief to the dissatisfied Puritans. In the same year, within a few weeks indeed, Parliament met, and with it the Convocation. In this assembly were passed the canons by which the Church of England is still governed. They are said to have been collected by Bancroft, who succeeded this year to the primacy on Whitgift's death, from the canons of the ancient Church, and the articles, and injunctions and acts of Convocation, during the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth. They received the royal sanction, but were not carried through the two Houses of Parliament. They are not, therefore, laws of the land. They bind the clergy only, and this by virtue of their promise of canonical obedience. Many of them have been virtually repealed by subsequent enactments, especially the Toleration Act. Of some, the altered state of society has rendered the application impossible—or mischievous, if not impossible. Others are binding, as Blackstone, Hardwicke, and other great lawyers have expressed it, not *proprio vigore*, not by their intrinsic authority, but simply as reciting laws already in existence. They still regulate the practice of the ecclesiastical courts, and on many questions, are the only rule to which the bishops and the clergy can appeal. That they stand in need of revision is universally admitted by those who would enforce, as well as by those who would escape, their sanctions. Though, perhaps, not deserving of all the censure with which they have been visited, it must be admitted that they are the work of a hard and barbarous age. Laws, even those of the Church, can, under any circumstances, reflect but little of the mildness of the Gospel: their business is to restrain, to compel, to punish. Still it is not unreasonable to demand that they should breathe the spirit of the institution that gave them birth; and the canons of the Church of England are such as the best and wisest of her members would gladly see revised. In the convocation to which they owe their existence, Rudd, bishop of St. David's, protested against the needless severity with which the cross in baptism, and other usages obnoxious to the Puritans, were enforced. And Fuller, the Church historian, who wrote in the reign of Charles, tells us that moderate men, who had no sympathy with Puritanism, expressed their apprehension that they were too heavy a burden to be long borne, and that they

thought it enough for the bishops to triumph over their adversaries, without insulting them. The translation of the Bible is a labour on which we dwell with greater satisfaction. It was undertaken at the suggestion of Reynolds, the Puritan leader, at the conference at Hampton Court; but three years passed before the work was begun, and another period of three years elapsed before it was brought to a termination. Fifty-four of the chief divines in both universities were nominated in the original commissions; but seven of these either died before the translation was completed, or, from diffidence, declined to engage in the undertaking. Its execution, therefore, devolved on the remaining forty-seven, and they were divided into six companies. The first company translated from Genesis to the first book of Chronicles; the second, to the prophet Isaiah; the third translated the four greater prophets, with the book of Lamentations, and the twelve minor prophets; the fourth had the Apocrypha; the fifth undertook the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the book of Revelation; while to the sixth were assigned the canonical epistles. Each individual translated the whole portion assigned to his respective division; that division selected the best interpretation, from a collation of all these separate translations, and the portion being completed, was submitted to the other divisions for the approbation of the whole body.

Regulations used by the most eminent fathers, "being agreeable to the propriety of the place and the analogy of faith," were prescribed for the guidance of the translators. They were directed to consult all the modern translations, but to adhere as closely as possible to the Bishops' Bible. They were not to change words which had been familiarized by long use, and had, consequently, acquired a sacred appropriation. Thus, the word bishop is not to be changed into superintendent, priest into elder, deacon into minister, and church into assembly. When a word had different significations, that was to be retained which was most commonly used by the fathers. The divisions of the chapters were not to be altered, unless necessity should require.

The contributions of the learned were solicited from all parts, and their different opinions were deliberately examined without any regard to complaints of the tardiness with which the work proceeded. The translators met at Oxford, Cambridge, and Westminster, and the translation at length appeared, with all the

improvements which could be derived from united industry and abilities. The final review and superintendence of the publication were committed to the care of Bilson, bishop of Winchester, and Myles Smith, afterwards bishop of Gloucester; and the last of these divines wrote the preface, which is still prefixed to the larger editions.

Of the spiritual advantages which this, our present authorized translation, has been the channel of conveying to a vast portion of the world we say nothing. Nor on its merits, in a literary point of view, can we here enlarge. It is the great popular model of pure English writing. Its wide diffusion has purified the national taste, while it has shed abroad the richer blessings of pure religion. One consequence of its general use we must stop to mention. Seventy years ago the English language was in an impoverished state and rapidly decaying, and the Bible was then but little read. It has, since then, undergone a wonderful change. It is again written and spoken in a degree of purity which an old language once suffered to become corrupt has very seldom, if ever witnessed; and this marked improvement, visible in all our best authors, our historians, orators, and poets, is due to the regenerating influence of our sacred literature, and chiefly to our greater acquaintance with the English Bible.

Another important event in the reign of James, was the synod of Dordt, in 1618, of which the reader will find an account elsewhere (article ARMINIANS). Four English divines were sent over to assist in the deliberations of the synod, and to represent the English Church: Calton, bishop of Llandaff, Hall, dean of Worcester, and afterwards bishop of Norwich, Davenant, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, but then Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge, and Maud, master of Sidney-Sussex College in the same university. The decision of the synod (in which our English divines acquiesced) was in favour of the Calvinistic tenets. "But the five points," says a late writer, "were not to be settled by the synod of Dordt; the beaten party protested and lampooned; Arminianism gathered strength from its defeat, sprung at once into a new life, grappled with the Church of England, and, for more than a century, laid it at its feet." One fact is incontestable, that the decline of doctrinal Calvinism within the Church of England must be dated from this period; and within twenty

years, the seat of Whitgift was filled by archbishop Laud, one of the sternest opponents of Calvinism the Church of England has produced.

As the reign of James drew to a close, there can be little doubt that his mind reverted with increasing satisfaction towards the religion of his parents. Though not wanting in talents of a certain order, he was a man feeble in judgment, and unfixed in principle. There was scarcely a party, political or religious, which he had not, by turns, befriended and betrayed. He became the bitter enemy of the Puritans, to whom, in his youth, he had been firmly attached; the friend of the Arminians, to whose ruin he had been singularly instrumental; the champion of episcopacy, of which he had expressed himself in terms of hatred and contempt. His life was not free from immoralities, and he probably took refuge from an accusing conscience in those views of priestly absolution which the Church of Rome encourages. Before his death the tendencies were visible to those extremes on both sides which ripened to so fatal a maturity under his unhappy son. The Arminian, or High Church party inclined more and more to Rome, the Puritans to Presbyterianism. Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, asserted the divine right of episcopacy, and unchurched all Presbyterian churches. This was not a step in advance of the reformers, but directly in their teeth. The sacraments once more began to be spoken of in terms mysterious and perplexing. The pomp of the Romish ceremonial was copied in our public worship, and the Church of Rome was treated with studied respect by the clergy who hung about the court. The king was intent upon a marriage for Prince Charles with the Infanta of Spain; and, upon the miserable failure of this disgraceful project, his solicitations were directed, with but too much success, to the court of France. He died just as the fatal match which united the fortunes of his son and those of Henrietta Maria took place. She was not merely a Roman Catholic, but a bigot: her conscience was in the keeping of her confessor; she was attended by a papal nuncio and a host of priests. Bishop Kennett declares that next to the early influence of the duke of Buckingham, the marriage of Charles with this princess was the cause of his final ruin; and he adds, that it was looked upon as a greater judgment in the realm than the plague then raging in the land. To James's policy we owe this

isastrous match, and all the calamities which necessarily fol-
owed; and, as the first and most apparent of those great evils, the
hurch of England began already to lose her independence. As if
shamed of her bold protests against the Church of Rome, and
nxious to heal the breach of the Reformation, she now spoke in
lver tones; and although we acquit the prelates of any intention
) return to Rome, we cannot deny that they made the essential
ifferences so few between the two Churches, as to destroy, so
r as in them lay, the enthusiasm of the people on behalf of
rotestantism, and to make the justice and even the policy of
ıe Reformation appear a somewhat doubtful question.

Pausing for an instant at the close of James's reign, to review
e progress of the Church of England since the Reformation,
ıd to inquire into the moral effects of her teaching, it must be
lowed that whatever were her imperfections, she had already
hieved a vast success. The Puritan writers complain, and we
ıve no doubt with too much truth, of the extensive decay of
ety during the last years of James. Baxter, who was then a
ıy, and Mrs. Hutchinson, who also wrote from vivid scenes
ıich memory had left pictured in a mind of no ordinary force,
esent us with the same story, and give us distressing accounts
parishes returning to ignorance and barbarism under the new
hool of teachers sent out by Laud and Bancroft. Yet their
rn statements imply all that we have just affirmed; religion,
orals, private holiness, and public virtue, must have prevailed
roughout these parishes, or the decay could not have taken
ace; the change would not have been felt. The charges brought
ainst Laud and his party in the next reign were always to this
fect—that he had disturbed the principles of the English Church,
ıd crushed the piety of the English people. That piety, then,
isted: it was widely diffused; it pervaded the mass of Eng-
ih society. At the death of James, England was, compared
ith the great continental nations, a barbarous country. But
ıe English people were already at the head of the European
mmonwealth in public virtue and individual morality. No-
here else, unless perhaps Holland be excepted, was there the
me domestic purity. In no other state was there the same high
nse of justice and love of truth; and the religious knowledge
the people at large was, we suspect, greater than at any sub-
quent period of our history down to the present hour; unless

again, we are obliged to make an exception (which is doubtful) in favour of the Commonwealth. In every great parish, a grammar-school had been erected by Edward or Elizabeth, out of the property of some dissolved monastery. These schools were sufficient for the education of the whole of the community, for the population of England certainly did not exceed five millions, and they were well-endowed, and well-conducted, religion being everywhere the prime element in the course of instruction; indeed, the interest which the whole nation now took in questions of abstruse theology, proves how well it was instructed in the elements of Christian learning. Calvinist and Arminian were now the Whig and Tory of Queen Anne's reign; they excited the same political passions, and inflamed the whole nation even to a greater extent; and this would have been impossible had there not been a very general acquaintance with the outlines, if no more, of the opposing systems. The reformed Church had not existed seventy years; her course had been impeded by open foes, heartless friends, and secret traitors, but she had accomplished a work so vast and so beneficial, that it may well fill the mind with astonishment, if it awaken no deeper feelings of devotion and gratitude.

The influence of Laud had been considerable during the later years of James, but it rose to a much greater height on the accession of Charles, in 1625. Buckingham, his favourite minister, was assassinated the next year, and Laud was called to preside at the royal councils. The selection was unhappy: he was a man of obscure birth, rough manners, and of a temper which spurned control. He was strongly imbued with the principles of the Arminian party. Heylyn, his chaplain and biographer, tells us that even at the university, he had the character of being "very popishly inclined." "Dr. Abbot, master of University College, who was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, so openly branded him for a Papist, or, at least, popishly inclined, that it was almost made an heresy (as I have heard from his own mouth) for any one to be seen in his company, and a misprision of heresy to give him a civil salutation as he walked in the streets." His rise had been rapid: in 1611 he became president of St. John's College; in 1616, dean of Gloucester, being already one of the chaplains-in-ordinary to the king; the next year he accompanied James into Scotland, and advised him in his fruitless enterprise

estoring episcopacy, and subverting the institutions of John
x; in 1621 he was consecrated bishop of St. David's; in
6, bishop of Bath and Wells, and dean of the royal chapel;
years afterwards, in 1628, bishop of London; and, at length,
633, on the death of Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury. The
t day, we meet with the following curious entry in his diary:
ugust 17, Saturday. *I had a serious offer again to be a car-
al.* I was then from court, but as soon as I came thither,
ch was by August 21, I acquainted his Majesty with it; but
answer again was that something dwelt within me which
ld not suffer that till Rome was other than it is." We can
add that the offer itself was infamy to an Anglican arch-
op.

Ve despair of being able to place before the reader, within
limits which the plan of this work assign to us, an intelligible
ine of the state of affairs during the next twenty years; at the
e of which the archbishop had perished on the scaffold, and
royal master was hastening to the same fate. Affairs crowd
n each other with a rapidity never known but when revolu-
s are at hand: the interests of Church and State are blended;
the circumstance that Laud is prime minister, renders it often
ossible to mark the distinction between the two. The history
a nation, over whose secular affairs a churchman presides,
olves the fortunes and the history of the Church whose chief
op he is. Presuming upon the reader's acquaintance with
period of English history, the following brief summary may
haps suffice:—The king was poor and the court extravagant.
Parliament, unwilling or unable to satisfy his wants, was
olved in 1626, and he had recourse to a forced loan. Laud,
ot the author of the scheme, was the king's willing agent in
cting it; and his biographer, Heylyn, from whose authentic
rative of the archbishop's life and story our materials are
ected, assures us that "his dexterous performance of this
vice raised him higher than he was before in his Majesty's
nion." But nothing could have been more injurious to the
urch; for the clergy were instructed to defend the loan and
ite the liberality of the people, both in private conversations
from the pulpits. And thus, from the very outset of his
gn, and while scarcely a cloud was visible in the whole hori-
, the clergy were gratuitously placed in circumstances the

most unfavourable to Christian ministers that can easily be imagined. They were obliged to urge an obnoxious tax on the grounds of religious duty, in the first place, and, so doing, to place themselves in open hostility to the estates of Parliament in the second. To make matters worse, the king, who professed to want supplies to resist Spain and the house of Austria, and to support the Protestant king of Denmark, soon afterwards abandoned Rochelle to the French king, and betrayed the Protestants of France, whose strongest garrison it was, and who relied upon his promises of help, to the fury of their oppressor.

London was looked upon by the king "as the retreat and receptacle of the grandees of the Puritan faction; and "he knew of no better way," it seems, "to make them an example of obedience to the rest of his subjects than by placing over them a bishop of such parts and power as they should either be unable to withstand, or afraid to offend." Laud was therefore appointed to the see, in the place of Mountain, who was removed to Durham. One of his first measures was, to put an end to the controversy between the Calvinists and their opponents, or more properly, to silence the Calvinists. He drew up a proclamation for the king, which was published with the thirty-nine articles. "We will," says the declaration, "that all curious search into these things be laid aside, and these disputes be shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture, and the general meaning of the articles according to them." James had once issued a similar declaration, and Elizabeth had frequently interfered to "tune the pulpit," as she was wont to say; but the consequences of this last experiment might have convinced a less resolute man than Laud, or a king less obstinate than Charles, that the Church must henceforth be ruled in another way. The Calvinistic divines of London drew up a petition which, however, was "stopped before it came to the king," complaining that they were deterred by the declaration from preaching the saving doctrines of grace. "They were brought," they said, "into a great strait; they must incur God's heavy displeasure if they did not faithfully deliver their message, in declaring the whole council of God; or incur the danger of his majesty if they confuted the Pelagian and Arminian heresies;" both of which, they reminded the king, were preached and printed boldly, without fear of censure. The House of Commons

took up the quarrel, and passed a resolution professing their belief in the thirty-nine articles, according to the current and general exposition of the writers of our Church,—"and we reject the sense of the Jesuits, Arminians, and all others, wherein they differ from us." The Laudian party looked upon it "as a kind of prodigy that men unqualified and in no way authorized for any such purpose should take upon themselves to determine matters, which were more proper for a national or provincial council." It was a strange and ominous precedent no doubt; but the House of Commons would probably have replied, that a discussion upon the doctrines of grace lay quite as much within their path as the duties of a prime minister within that of an archbishop; or, more seriously, that for learning, manly piety, and high talent, they were at least by no means inferior to the House of Convocation.

The irritation was increased by the favour shown to the leaders of the Arminian party. Mainwaring and Montague had written in defence of Arminianism; and this, with so many concessions to Popery, together with so high a strain of declamation on behalf of the king's prerogative, that they had been censured and fined by the House of Commons. The king remitted their sentences, and gave them each a bishopric. The House of Commons was inflamed, and began to speak in a tone such as it had never yet assumed towards the sovereign. "I desire," said Mr. Rouse, "that we may look into the belly and bowels of this Trojan horse, and see if there are not men in it ready to open the gates to Rome; for an Arminian is the spawn of a Papist, and if the warmth of royal favour rest upon him, he will turn into one of those frogs which rose from the bottomless pit." The House of Commons passed resolutions that whosoever should favour Popery or Arminianism, was an enemy to the kingdom; that whosoever should advise the payment of taxes not levied by the authority of Parliament, and whosoever should pay the same, betrayed the liberties of their country. The king, with an angry speech, dissolved the Parliament.

The Court of High Commission and the Star Chamber were actively employed. The former of these tribunals was created by a clause in the Act of Supremacy, in the second year of Elizabeth; the other was of very ancient date, but had been remodelled by statutes of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. It consisted of

several lords spiritual and temporal, being privy councillors, together with two judges of common law; but it had no jury, and therefore it was hateful to the people. Its jurisdiction was ill defined, and in troublous times was easily stretched. It was, in effect, a court absolute and perfectly tyrannical. It declared that to be law which it held to be convenient, and it punished disobedience in whatever methods it thought fit; by fine and imprisonment, by whipping and the pillory, by slitting men's noses and cutting off their ears. Lord Clarendon, a devoted royalist, whose affection for King Charles was, however, tempered by his reverence for English law and his respect for the English constitution, admits "that it asserted all the king's proclamations and orders of state; vindicated illegal commissions and monopolies in trade; that it held that for honourable which was agreeable to itself, and that for just which profited the revenue." In short, to repeat the words of Blackstone, "the foundations of right were never more in danger to be destroyed." By this tribunal Dr. Leighton, the father of Archbishop Leighton, who revived in his own person the doctrines and the practice of an apostolic piety in the next generation, was seized and sentenced to have his ears cropped, his nose slit, his forehead burnt, and to be whipped. His crime was the authorship of a libellous book, in which he had inveighed against the bishops and the queen. Leighton suffered in 1630. Six years afterwards, Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton,—a barrister, a physician, and a clergyman,—were convicted before the Star Chamber for similar offences. They had published pamphlets which were offensive to the court, or injurious to Laud and his party, and were condemned to lose their ears in the pillory, to be fined each five thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned in Lancaster Castle; and Prynne was branded in the face. A hundred thousand men attended them to Highgate on their way to their northern dungeon. Their friends visited them even in that remote seclusion; and they were removed, in consequence, to prisons in Jersey, Guernsey, and Scilly. But the Long Parliament met in 1640; and the torrent, long pent up, burst through its banks. Their first act was to reverse these unrighteous sentences; and Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton were escorted into London with an enthusiasm and a triumph such as neither Plantagenet, nor Tudor, nor Elizabeth herself, had ever known.



The discontent was increased by the severity which Laud displayed in the suppression of the Puritan doctrines, now specially taken under the patronage of the House of Commons. Two of his measures were particularly odious to that large party which had become a political, quite as much as a religious, body. The want of able preachers was great; for the policy of the court had been, for some time, to discourage preaching as much as possible. To remedy the evil, the Puritans, with great activity established lectureships both in London and through the country. Private gentlemen retained the lecturers as chaplains in their mansions; the pious nobility had several, according to their rank, who were engaged in a kind of preaching mission upon their estates and in the neighbouring towns. Laud regarded these proceedings with great uneasiness. The lecturers were looked down upon with great contempt, for they were mostly Puritans, and evaded strict conformity. They were neither parsons, nor vicars, nor stipendiary curates; in fact, says Heylyn, "they were neither fish nor flesh, nor good red herring." The king, at Laud's suggestion, issued instructions to the bishops, commanding them to suppress these lectures, if preached in the afternoon, and to substitute catechetical lectures in their place. The bishops had probably been remiss in admitting men carelessly to holy orders. Many had been ordained without a title, or with no better title than a private chaplaincy. Charles issued a royal letter in 1633, censuring this practice, which had filled the Church, it was affirmed, with indigent clerks,—"trencher chaplains," who "thrust themselves into gentlemen's houses to teach their children, or to conduct divine service at the table's end." Gentlemen beneath the rank of nobility were strictly forbidden to retain their chaplains, and their domestic lectures were suppressed, and even the nobility were no longer permitted to give titles to their chaplains. Had this measure been fairly conducted there would have been no just reason for complaint; but, practically, it was worked so as to put an end to those lectureships on the Sunday afternoon at church, and those domestic instructions in private houses, by which the lamentable want of an efficient parochial ministry was sought to be supplied. These proceedings gave great uneasiness. Some of the bishops, and amongst them Hall, of Exeter, refused to suppress the lectureships, if the lecturers were men of character and piety; and in Exeter, the bishop tells

us, the exceptions were but few. Another proceeding of the court was equally offensive. A project had been set on foot, similar to that which has lately been effected by Mr. Simeon, of Cambridge, and his trustees; namely, that of purchasing advowsons, in order to obtain the legal right of placing ministers of acknowledged piety and zeal in important parishes. A company of feoffees was formed for purchasing impropriations. They erected a kind of corporation amongst themselves, consisting of twelve persons, – clergymen, citizens, and lawyers,—who soon collected large sums of money, bought up advowsons, and established lectureships, especially in corporate and market towns. Laud considered the proceedings dangerous both to Church and State. The attorney-general was commanded to prosecute. The feoffees were called into the Court of Exchequer, the feoffment condemned, the impropriations they had bought confiscated, and the further merits of the cause deferred for a final sentence; and the feoffees were subjected to such punishment as the Star Chamber chose to inflict. But other troubles arose, and the matter seems to have been dropped; for the present, however, the lectureships were suppressed.

The Book of Sports first uttered by King James, was now republished. It was a brief proclamation, setting forth in few words the games and pastimes which were lawful on Sunday; it was accompanied with a declaration commanding its publication in every parish church; and this "was done out of a pious care for the service of God, and for suppressing of any humours that opposed the truth, and for the ease, comfort, and recreation of our well-deserving people." It is dated the 18th of October, 1633. It was received with a burst of indignation: numbers of the clergy refused to read the hated document, and were silenced; some read the Book of Sports, and then the fourth commandment, and invited their congregations to determine, like the Jews of old, whether they would follow the Lord or worship Baal. Ten years after, the Book of Sports was burnt by the common hangman, in Cheapside, at the instance of the House of Commons.

This affair of the Book of Sports throws some light upo the character of English manners and religion in the reign Charles, and shows a rapid improvement. The Book of Spor when first issued by James in 1618, had given great offenc

not, as is generally supposed, because it introduced new follies, but simply because it legalised and gave the sanctions of law and religion to some of those which were already in existence. It permitted "dancing either of men or women; archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any such harmless recreations." Nor were his Majesty's subjects to be debarred "from having May-games, Whitsuntide-ales, or morris-dances, and setting up of May-poles, or other sports used therewith, provided all were done without impediment to divine service." The women, too, had leave "to carry rushes to the church for its decoration, according to their old custom." But it especially forbade unlawful games, describing as such, bear-baiting, bull-baiting, common plays, and bowling. These last it seems were the Sunday recreations of our forefathers long after the Reformation.

The first Book of Sports, in fact, rather narrowed the amusements of the lads of the parish. The sin that was charged upon it was of another kind; it encouraged recreations, which, though less barbarous, were equally at variance with the sanctity of the day of rest. It was not till the first year of Charles I. that an Act was passed, much, as Heylyn intimates, to the displeasure of the court, "that from thenceforth there should be no assembly or concourse of people on the Lord's day out of their own parishes, or any bull-baiting, bear-baiting, interludes, common plays, or any other unlawful exercises or pastimes in their own parishes on the same." Richardson, Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, had charged the grand jury of the county of Somerset, at the Lent assizes in 1631, to take care for the better observance of the Lord's-day; he was immediately summoned before the Privy Council, "and peremptorily commanded to reverse his former orders at the next assizes for that county, receiving withal such a rattle for his former contempt by the Bishop of London, that he came out blubbering and complaining that he had been almost choked by a pair of lawn sleeves."—*Heylyn's Life of Laud*, part ii. p. 8.

In this strain matters proceeded; the king ruling without a parliament, the nation filled with discontent, and Laud and Strafford bearing the odium, though in unequal proportions, for the archbishop, as a clergyman, was looked upon as the greater delinquent of the two. At length the parliament met, and the revolution opened, in 1640. Laud was now primate: in this

capacity he had assisted the king in that disastrous measure which, more than any other, was the cause of all his subsequent calamities—the attempt to introduce episcopacy and the Book of Common Prayer in Scotland. A furious tumult was the immediate consequence in the high church of Edinburgh; the precursor of a civil war which was to deluge both nations with misery and blood.

The parliament, instead of voting supplies as the king desired, begun their sessions by discussing the grievances under which the country had laboured during the last twelve years; for during that long and dreary period no parliament had sat. Charles angrily dissolved them within a month, and before a single bill had been completed. The convocation had, of course, been summoned with the parliament; and according to the usual practice of the English constitution, the dissolution of one of these assemblies involved the dissolution of the other. But Laud was anxious to prolong the sittings of the convocation; and the lawyers were consulted whether the king might not retain the services of the spiritual parliament though no House of Commons was in being. Most unhappily, as it proved, one or two precedents were found; and Charles determined that the convocation was not dissolved, and that its sessions should continue. He proceeded further, and with the intention of giving greater weight to its acts, pronounced it to be, not a convocation merely, but a synod. No synod had been called in England for centuries; it was unknown to the laws and to the constitution, since the Reformation at least. It was a dubious point whether a convocation had any legal existence now that parliament was dissolved; but a synod assembled under these circumstances possessed still fewer claims to be considered a legal or legislative body. The temper of the people was inflamed, a mob threatened the convocation house, and its sittings were protected by a guard of soldiers. Laud was already marked for vengeance. Two thousand of the citizens burst into St. Paul's, where the court of high commission sat, and in an instant broke up and finally dispersed a tribunal which has been sometimes called the English inquisition, with the ominous cry, "No bishops! no high commission!" The palace at Lambeth was surrounded, and the windows broken. One of the rioters was hanged, but the archbishop did *not* quail.



The convocation of 1640 is memorable in the history of the Church of England for the canons which it framed; of which Dr. Short, the Bishop of St. Asaph, has truly said, in his History of the Church of England, "they are such as prove the violence of those who framed them, and who must have been actuated by despair or fatuity to select such a time for their publication." As if the subjects of contention were not already sufficiently numerous, the convocation introduced new discords. "In a word," says Lord Clarendon, "it did many things which, in the best of times, might have been questioned, and, therefore, were sure to be condemned in the worst." The canons were seventeen in number. The first, concerning the regal power, runs thus: "We ordain and decree. that every parson, vicar, curate, or preacher, upon one Sunday in every quarter of the year, in the place where he serves, shall read the following explanation of the regal power. That the most high and sacred order of kings is of divine right, being the ordinance of God himself, founded in the prime laws of nature and revelation, by which the supreme power over all persons civil and ecclesiastical is given to them, &c. That tribute and custom, aid and subsidy, are due to the king, by the law of God, nature, and nations; yet subjects have a right and property in their goods and estates," &c. In the temper of the nation then prevailing, this canon excited more of indignation than alarm. The king had governed twelve years without a parliament, and had claimed the right of making laws by proclamation without its assistance, and of levying taxes at his own pleasure without its consent; and now the clergy were called in to give the sanction of religion to these unconstitutional proceedings. The third and fourth canons excommunicate Papists and Socinians; but the fifth decrees that the two preceding canons shall be in full force against all Anabaptists, Brownists, and other sectarists, as far as they are applicable; and the Puritans suspected that the third and fourth canons existed only for the sake of the fifth. But the *Etcetera oath*, contained in the sixth canon, drew forth the strongest marks of indignation. All the clergy were compelled to swear that they "would never give their consent to alter the government of the Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, *etcetera*, as it now stands, and as by right it ought to stand." Not only the Puritans, but vast numbers of the clergy, who had never



felt a scruple on the subject of Church government, or the peculiarities of the Church of England, at once refused to take an oath so carelessly or so maliciously drawn up. The penalty was suspension for the first offence, and, after three months, ejection. The moderate bishops remonstrated with Laud. The wise Sanderson, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, assured him that the peace of the Church was in greater danger from this one act, than from anything that had occurred within the memory of man. Laud was, as usual, obstinate, and the king was obliged to interfere and command the suspension of the oath till his further pleasure should be known. The long parliament met in the autumn of this eventful year; and Laud was immediately impeached of high treason, and committed to the Tower.

Here he lay four years, during which period war broke out, the constitution was destroyed, and the Church of England overthrown. One of the first acts of the parliament was to appoint a commission for religion, which appointed several sub-committees, to whom were intrusted the reformation of the Church. One of these, the committee for scandalous ministers, erected a summary tribunal for the punishment and ejection of unworthy clerks. They cast out great numbers of the clergy; their enemies say six thousand, their own defenders reduce the number by two-thirds. Still more inconsistent are the statements which each party has handed down to posterity as to the character of the clergy who were thus deprived. They are represented, on the one hand, as good men, confessors for the Church and sufferers for their loyalty to the king; and, on the other, as turbulent and ignorant, or even profligate and licentious. The bishops were soon afterwards ejected from the House of Lords. This was an act of violence on the part of the mob. The bishops unwisely, it has been thought, protested that in their absence no proceedings in the House of Peers were legal; and they were, in consequence, committed to the Tower on a charge of treason. This shows the increasing violence of the House of Commons when it had scarcely sat twelve months. The charge was so absurd in itself, that one of the lawyers friendly to the parliament declared, that they might have with as much reason been committed on the charge of adultery. They were soon afterwards deprived of their votes, and pillaged of their property. The Star Chamber and Court of High Commission

fell before the indignation of the Commons without a division in the house, or a voice raised in their favour. In 1642 the civil war broke out, and Laud was for some time allowed to remain unnoticed in the Tower. The exasperation on both sides increased; the Scotch had marched into England to assist the parliament, and they looked upon Laud as their greatest enemy. The parliamentary historians do not hesitate to admit that the archbishop was sacrificed to conciliate their northern allies. He was brought to trial before the House of Lords on the 12th of March, 1644.

The charges against him were comprised under ten heads, subdivided into many more. The archbishop, on the first day of the trial, observed that there were in fact but two. In six of these articles he was charged with a traitorous subversion of the law, the other four concerned religion. By order of the House of Commons, the report of the trial was published by Prynne, one of the managers, and a leading member of the house. It occupies a folio of nearly six hundred pages, and to this we must refer the reader who may be anxious thoroughly to comprehend a portion of our English history equally difficult and painful. The charge of high treason was sustained by accusations drawn from almost every action of his life: he had upheld the tyranny of the Star Chamber; he had advised the king to set his parliament at nought; he had fomented the rebellion of the Papists in Ireland; he had provoked the Scotch to draw the sword; every error of the king and his privy council was visited on his devoted head; and to complete his crimes, the canons of 1640 were not forgotten. The doctrines which they inculcated, with regard to regal power and the divine right of kings, were treason to the commonwealth. The Etcetera oath afforded a wide field for indignant invective on the part of the managers. This was the most recent grievance, and by no means the least. Laud, it was proved, had attempted to enforce it with severity. It was said he had gone so far as to imprison the Bishop of Gloucester for refusing to administer it to his clergy. All these charges together, several of them individually, it was argued, amounted to high treason.

Under the head of religion, he was accused, in general, of having favoured popery, and in return of having received overtures from the pope. His diary was ransacked, and the offer of

a cardinal's hat was not overlooked. Nor was it difficult to adduce the instances in which Laud's conduct had been strangely inconsistent with the duties and the position of a Protestant archbishop. A letter was produced from Laud to the archdeacon of Canterbury, commanding him to obliterate a monument which had been placed in one of the churches of that city to commemorate the destruction of the Spanish Armada and the Gunpowder Plot. Of clergymen censured or punished for denouncing popery, or refusing to comply with superstitious usages, as they esteemed them, which Laud had introduced, the numbers were great, and, in some cases, the hardships inflicted shameful. The introduction of copes and other splendid decorations in the official dress, the placing of lighted candles on the communion table, the introduction of piscinas and credence tables, or side altars, the turning of the table into an altar, and then approaching it with profound obeisances, the introduction of choral singing to the exclusion of congregational psalmody,—these, and numberless charges of the same kind, were adduced to prove that the archbishop was a Papist in heart, and if a Papist then a traitor and worthy of death. "To conclude," said Sergeant Wilde, in his opening speech on the first day of the trial, "Naaman was a great man, but he was a leper. This man's leprosy hath so infected all, that there remains no other cure but the sword of justice, which we doubt not but that your lordships will so apply that the commonwealth shall yet live again and flourish."—*Prynne's Canterbury's Doom, or the Trial, &c. of Archbishop Laud.* Printed by command, &c. 1646.

Whatever the delinquencies of Laud, he was certainly treated with injustice. His crimes were not high treason. This the prosecutors felt, and they had recourse to the monstrous figment of cumulative treason, under which Lord Strafford had recently been destroyed: "a treason," his biographer remarks, in the conclusion, "which could not be gathered from the premises: a treason in the total, when nothing but misdemeanor could be found in the items." On his trial he was addressed with invectives, interrupted in his defence, and insulted by the spectators below the bar. He defended himself with an eloquence and ability which gave great uneasiness to the House of Commons, at whose instance the Lords had been induced, or rather compelled to bring him to trial. His trial lasted for upwards of a fortnight

During the summer no sentence was passed, and the archbishop was occasionally brought up for further examination. But the king was successful in the field, and the Scotch army became impatient for revenge, and the apprentices and mob of London for a victim. A petition was prepared, signed by twenty thousand hands, demanding justice on the archbishop. The commons sent a message to the lords requesting them "to proceed vigorously with the punishment of delinquents;" and that "for the more quick dispatch of business they would sit together with the commons, and so form one house." Under this pressure, in a slender house, containing not above six or seven peers, an "ordinance" was passed which condemned the archbishop to the scaffold.

He died on Tower-hill the 10th of January 1645. At his trial he had shown impatience and an irritable temper; but his demeanour now was worthy of a Christian bishop. He prepared and read upon the scaffold a long speech in which, while admitting with all humility, that he was a most grievous sinner in many ways, by thought, word, and deed, he defended his public life in every point, and professed his attachment both to the constitution and to the Church of England. No misgivings troubled him. In his last prayer, after fervently commending his soul to God through Christ, he added these words: "I humbly beseech thee now to give me, in this great instant, full patience, proportionable comfort, and a heart ready to die for thine honour, the king's happiness, and this Church's preservation. And my zeal to this, far from arrogancy be it spoken, is all the sin, (human frailty excepted and all the incidents thereunto,) which is yet known to me in this particular; for which I now come to suffer." It is impossible to doubt the sincerity of professions thus made. Laud was no doubt sincere; the wisdom of his course is another matter. It is not easy to believe that he entertained the doctrinal views of the Reformation; or the reformers' dread of superstition; or their abhorrence of the corruptions of the Church of Rome. He saw the growth of numberless sects and heresies, on the one hand; he watched with jealousy, not unmixed with admiration we suspect, the grandeur and power of the Church of Rome, now recovering from her losses of the previous century, on the other; and he hoped by religious pageantry and lofty notions of priestly

rule to give force and solidity to the Church of England. This is the most favourable view which can fairly be taken of his character.

But he miserably failed, and drew the Church of England with him to destruction. The day before Laud was condemned, an ordinance passed both Houses for the establishment of the new directory; that is, of the Presbyterian form of discipline and worship in England; and the use of the Common Prayer-book was forbidden. The deprivation of the bishops and the destruction of episcopacy was at once accomplished. The clergy who refused to abandon the Prayer-book were ejected from their livings. The bishops and dignitaries lived in silence and poverty, or went abroad. A third of the income of each living was reserved, by an ordinance of Parliament, for the maintenance of the ejected minister; but it was seldom paid, and in the troubled state of the times which now ensued, he had no means of enforcing it. Cromwell, more generous than his party, protected a few great men. Archbishop Usher was still permitted to preach in London, but Hall of Norwich was suffered to linger in obscurity, and to die almost in want. By a law, enacted soon after the directory was enforced, it was made penal to use the Book of Common Prayer even in household worship; the penalty was five pounds for the first, and a hundred pounds for the third offence. This was in 1645; and through the whole of the protectorate to the restoration of Charles II. in 1660, the Church of England had no existence, except in the persons of its individual members, scattered and oppressed, who still clung, with an ardour proportioned to their perils, to the religion of their happier days. (See articles INDEPENDENTS, PRESBYTERIANS, PURITANS.)

The ancient monarchy was restored in the person of Charles II. in May 1660, and the Church of England, at the same time, and almost without an effort, was seated once more in her high position. The enthusiasm of the people was too impatient for legal forms, and in thousands of parish churches the liturgy was restored on the Sunday after his return, under no other authority than what was conferred by the unanimous feeling of the pastor and his flock. Charles, the next day after his landing, spent the Sunday at Canterbury, and the service was performed at the cathedral in his presence according to the old ritual, which was still proscribed by law. Some of his friends were anxious that

rplice should not be used on this occasion, and that some se ceremonies should be omitted which had been the ls of so fierce a quarrel. But he replied, that while he others to follow their own opinions, he should claim the iberty for himself. This was one of a hundred instances ch he showed that he knew his people much better than his courtiers; a fact which explains the strange anomaly e most immoral of our kings was the most popular, and is memory is cherished with affection by thousands who his character, even to the present time. The truth was, nism had suddenly collapsed; it retained no hold on the ns of the people, and they scarcely expressed the slightest t in its fallen fortunes. The reaction was sudden and te. Clarendon tells us that the king, he doubts not, had n so inclined, might have then restored the Star Chamber e Court of High Commission amidst the indifference or the applauses of his people. There was a passionate d for the ancient institutions of the country; and the n whether they admitted of any reforms was scarcely

The Puritans, who from this time took the name of berians, had no inconsiderable share in bringing the king nd at first they were treated with much courtesy. Charles edly expressed his wish for a comprehension, such as should e all good men, and loyal subjects, in the national Church. ay give him credit for full sincerity, although we are aware e himself was at heart a Papist, and was soon after secretly iled to the Church of Rome. But it would be easier to a united than a factious people, and as to their religion, ust needs be Protestant, all that he desired was that it be enjoyed in quiet; so he gave kind words to all parties, romised that, as soon as possible, a conference should be n which they themselves should be the arbitrators of their ifferences. Meanwhile bishoprics were offered to three Puritan leaders, Calamy, Baxter, and Reynolds. The only accepted the bishopric of Norwich. Several deaneries ffered to Manton, Bates, and others, but also declined; under the plea that, until the terms of conformity were , they could not accept of preferment with a safe conscience. Savoy Conference followed in 1661. Twelve Presbyterian ssioners, with nine assistants, were summoned to meet as

many bishops and their assistants. Baxter was the leader of the Presbyterians, and Sheldon of the Prelates. But the Conference broke up without doing any good. Bishop Burnet's impression at the time was, that it aggravated the evils on both sides. Baxter was much blamed for the number of objections which he raised on every point on which it seemed possible to create a difficulty, as well as for his rashness in presenting a crude liturgy of his own, the work, he tells us, of a single fortnight, which was to supersede the Book of Common Prayer. In his autobiography he justifies at length his conduct on both points. But in truth, the Savoy Conference was a mere sham fight got up without hope on one side or sincerity on the other. The prelates had determined not to yield; and the Presbyterians seized the occasion to state all their objections to the national Church, as a kind of final protest, rather than to confine themselves to the few important topics which were really essential to their differences. "Baxter," says Burnet, "spent some days in much logical arguing, chiefly with Sanderson and Gunning, his opponents, to the diversion of the town." The minutes of these debates must satisfy every reader, who has made himself acquainted with those times, that the champions on both sides, however learned and good, were the men of a former generation, unequal to the wants of the age which had now begun, and incompetent to the work before them. With the restoration, the fine arts, politeness, eloquence, and a new literature, had dawned, attended by an excessive and unreasonable contempt of antiquated modes. Yet Sanderson and Baxter were disputing in public in the Strand with the weapons of the old scholastic logic; precisely as Cranmer had disputed with the Romish priests at Oxford, or the elder Puritans before king James at Hampton Court. The terms they used were unintelligible, and their metaphysics provoked a smile. It was the last occasion probably, in which these ancient weapons have been used in public discussion; with what effect they were employed let the reader judge by the following specimen, which we take from "A true and perfect copy of the whole disputation at the Savoy," published at the time.

"That command which commandeth an act in itself law and no other act or circumstance unlawful, commandeth an in itself lawful and no other act, whereby any unjust penalt

enjoined, nor any circumstance whence directly or *per accidens* any sin is consequent, which the commander ought to provide against. *Ergò*, That command which commands an act in itself lawful, and no other act or circumstance unlawful, is not sinful."

The Presbyterians make answer thus—"The proposition denied is not in the conclusion.

"The major is denied, because the first act commanded may be, *per accidens*, unlawful, and be commanded by an unjust penalty, though no other act or circumstance commanded, be such."

This may serve as a specimen of this fruitless discussion.

The time expired, and the Conference separated. Clarendon was powerful at the privy council, and he was inveterate against the Presbyterians. The prelates were disposed to severity; the House of Commons was eager for revenge. The upper house maintained a calmer tone of mind; but the next year the Act of Uniformity was passed, though by slender majorities in both houses. It required the clergy to declare their unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer. The consequence was, that on St. Bartholomew's day, 1662, two thousand of the Puritan clergy resigned their benefices. The Corporation Act, the Conventicle Act, and the Five Miles Act, followed each other, within the next three years. By the first, which was repealed in the reign of George IV., every officer of a corporation town was obliged to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rites of the Church of England, within a year of his election. By the second, repealed by the Toleration Act, the being present where more than five persons were assembled for the purpose of religious worship, exclusive of the family, subjected the offender to a penalty of five pounds, or imprisonment for three months, for the first offence; ten pounds, or six months, for the second; and a hundred pounds, or transportation, for the third. It was found impossible to enforce a law which was entirely at variance with every sense of justice; and a second Conventicle Act was passed in 1670, which reduced the penalty to five shillings for the first offence, and ten for the second; and imposed upon the preacher a fine of twenty pounds for the first, and forty for each future offence. By the Five Miles Act, passed in 1665, every non-conforming clergyman, who should come within five miles of a corporate town, or of any parish where he had held a living or

been used to officiate, was liable to a penalty of forty pounds, or six months' imprisonment. At length the Test Act, in 1672, deprived the Nonconformists, in common with the Papists, of all offices or places of trust and profit. The impotence of harsh measures to protect a national Church was proved by these tyrannical decrees. When the last of them became law, it was discovered that religion itself was nearly extinct in England; and within a few years our Protestant faith was saved by the help of a foreign army, and at the expense of a revolution.

Such were the penal laws by which it was attempted to suppress dissent, and conciliate the attachment of the people to the national Church in the wretched days of Charles II. Sheldon the archbishop, a majority of his colleagues on the bench, and a great proportion of the working clergy, were favourable to these measures. It is impossible to defend their conduct; which, in almost every one of the instances adduced, is directly opposed to the simplest elements of Christian morals, as much as to the first principles of fair and upright legislation. Some palliatives their conduct has. They were emerging from a civil war, and, to them at least, a hateful usurpation. They had seen England drenched with blood, and they and their families, in the confiscations that ensued, had been amongst the greatest sufferers. The Presbyterians, against whom their animosity was now directed, had never, it was true, been the cordial friends of Cromwell, still less, however, in the estimation of the Royalists, had they been the faithful subjects of King Charles. Their grievances, after an interval of twenty years, were forgotten. It was only their rebellion that was kept in mind,—the scaffolds of Laud and Charles, and all the miseries that followed after, to the persecuted clergy. Forgiveness would have been a noble virtue, and true policy, we have long since discovered, would have been on the side of charity. Sheldon and the clergy lost such an opportunity as seldom returns, of at once re-establishing the Church of England on broader foundations, and of displaying, on a most conspicuous theatre, an illustrious example of the Christian virtues, and of rendering good for evil. Unhappily they were, with a few exceptions, men of narrow minds and ordinary piety. From all that they had seen, and in all that they had suffered, they appear to have learned but one lesson; namely, a childish dread of change; unless we add a second, the dread of Puritanism.

irs was the vulgar cry that one concession will only call forth ther demand! Safety lies in conceding nothing! The by Conference admitted a few corrections and some real im-vements; but, upon the whole, it left the Book of Common yer more exceptionable to the Presbyterians, and, conse-ntly, the terms of conformity much harder, than when the began. Some new holidays were added, and these had ays been a grievance to the Puritans. And more lessons e taken out of the Apocrypha, as the story of Bel and the gon. But it was agreed that no aprocryphal lesson should be l on Sunday. It was proposed, when they had gone through Prayer-Book, to revise the canons of the Church. This the g's licence empowered them to do, and the necessity was ent. Besides, they might have reformed several great abuses. y might have made a new distribution of a vast portion of ecclesiastical property. They might have provided an ctual remedy for the shameful poverty which, to this hour, ples one-third of the livings of the Church of England. The rch estates were, almost all of them, let on leases; and there been no renewals for twenty years. Most of them were ed: the estates of the Church were in the hands of the new mbents; and the fines raised by the renewing of the leases he restoration, amounted to the enormous sum of a million a half. Had but one-half of this, as Burnet has remarked, n applied to the buying of glebes or tithes, for small vicarages, foundations of a great practical reformation would have been . But selfishness and rapacity prevailed. In some sees y or fifty thousand pounds were raised by these renewals, went to enrich the bishops' families. What the bishops did h the great fines was an example to the lower dignitaries, cared more for themselves than for the Church. Something saved for the repair of colleges and cathedral churches; and ble collection was made for redeeming the English slaves in bary; but this fell far short of what might have been expected, influx of sudden wealth was ruinous to its possessors. The n of merit and service were loaded with many livings and many nities; but they were now in the decline of life; and, with and wealth, sloth and pomp and spiritual indifference rushed On the pretext of hospitality, some indulged an extravagant de of life; others made large purchases of land, and left

great estates, which soon melted away. The true concerns of the Church were neglected. They left preaching and writing to others, and gave themselves up to ease and luxury. It is a painful history; and the reader may, perhaps, think it uncharitable, till he learns that we have transcribed it from the honest page of bishop Burnet. He concludes it in these words: "In all which sad representation some few exceptions are to be made, but so few, that if a new set of men had not appeared, of another stamp, the Church had quite lost her esteem over the nation."—*History of his Own Times*, vol. i. p. 261.

This party, of which Sheldon was the head, unhappily governed the Church of England during the greater part of the reign of Charles II. Towards its close they were succeeded by wiser councils and better men; but the evils they inflicted on the Church meanwhile were very great; and it is no less the part of an upright historian to place in a clear and impressive light the faults and follies of those who, by indolence or cowardice, have betrayed the sacred interests intrusted to their keeping, than to dwell upon the apostolic graces of eminent saints. Written upon any other principle, history obscures truth, and merely lends her sanction to the vile strife of selfish factions. We must admit with sorrow that the Church of England, restored to all her dignities and wealth, did little more, during this disgraceful reign, than to chant her pæans over prostrate dissent. Popery lifted its bold front, and ostentatiously displayed its pomp, but it met with no stern rebuke; it was confronted now with no withering blast of popular eloquence. The strong arm of ancient learning no longer smote it. The hand of keen searching argument no more despoiled it of its sophistries; and, worse than this, licentiousness and profligacy grew to an appalling height undismayed, and almost unnoticed. Sermons preached before the Court and Parliament are extant in great numbers; many of them are written in a polite strain of well-sustained thought and happy illustration. They discourse, as after a civil war it was reasonable perhaps they should, upon the sin of schism, and "the horrid wickedness of our late unnatural rebellion." But there is one sin upon which they seldom touch at all—the profligacy of their own times, and the unexampled wickedness and debauchery of the king of England, his court, and subjects. After reading these sermons, we rise under the

impression that if the Anabaptists could be crushed, and the Presbyterians silenced, all would be purity and peace. As time wore on, South, and other bold spirits like himself, dared sometimes to renew the assault on popery, and with good effect. But we may look through the whole ecclesiastical literature, whether printed or spoken, of these divines, and scarcely stumble upon a single page in which the loathsome vices of their own age, its atheism, its contempt of all restraints, human and divine, its audacity in falsehood, its systematic profligacy, its heartless levity, its fierce implacable factiousness are spoken of in becoming terms; that is to say, in language of horror, and indignation, and disgust, with tears of penitence, or the deep blush of burning shame.

Vice was fashionable. It soon corrupted the universities, and so provided another generation with Christian ministers who had been brought up amidst polluting scenes. The Sheldon theatre, at Oxford, the magnificent donation of the archbishop to his university, was opened in 1669. The proceedings were disgusting; but they must find a place in our pages that the reader may fully comprehend the abyss of moral degradation into which England at this time fell. A letter from Mr. Wallis, who was present, to the Hon. Robert Boyle, is preserved by Neale, in his History of the Puritans. He relates, amongst other matters of less interest, "that a letter of thanks was read in the morning, at convocation, to Sheldon, wherein he was acknowledged to be both our creator and redeemer, for not only having built a theatre for the Act, but—which is more—delivered the Blessed Virgin from being so profaned in future." The allusion here is to the circumstance that, heretofore, the university Act had been held in St. Mary's Church. "These words," says Mr. Wallis, "stopped my mouth from giving a place to that letter when it was put to the vote. I have since desired Mr. Vice-chancellor to consider whether they were not liable to a just exception. He did at first excuse it, but, upon further thoughts, I suppose he will think fit to alter them before the letter be sent and registered." "After the voting of this letter, Dr. South (as university orator) made a long oration, the first part of which consisted of satirical invectives against Cromwell, fanatics, and the Royal Society, and new philosophy; the next, of encomiastics in praise of the archbishop, the theatre, the vice-chancellor, the architect and

painter; the last, of execrations against fanatics, conventicles, comprehension, and new philosophy, damning them *ad inferos, ad gehennam*." There is satire here, but, we fear, no exaggeration. South was one day preaching, much in the same strain, before Charles II., in Westminster Abbey, the subject of his declamation being "that bankrupt, beggarly fellow, Cromwell." The king burst into a violent fit of laughter, and exclaimed to Lord Rochester, "Your chaplain must be made a bishop." South, however, did not court preferment, and more than once declined a bishopric. Mr. Wallis proceeds with his letter thus: "The afternoon was spent in panegyric orations, and reciting of poems in several sorts of verse, composed in praise of the archbishop, the theatre, &c., and crying down fanatics. The whole action began and ended with a noise of trumpets; and twice was interposed variety of music, vocal and instrumental, purposely composed for this occasion. The terræ filius for both days were abominably scurrilous, and so suffered to proceed without the least check or interruption from vice-chancellor, proctors, curators, or any of those who were to govern the exercises, which gave so general offence to all honest spectators, that I believe the university hath thereby lost more reputation than they have gained by all the rest; all, or most of the heads of houses, and eminent persons in the university, with their relations, being represented as a company of —— —— and dunces; and, among the rest, the excellent lady, which your letter mentions, was, in the broadest language, represented as guilty of those crimes —— ——. During this solemnity (and for some days before and since) have been constantly acted (by the vice-chancellor's allowance) two stage plays in a day (by those of the duke of York's house), at a theatre erected for that purpose at the Town Hall, which (for aught I hear) was much the more innocent theatre of the two. It hath been here a common fame, for divers weeks (before, at, and since the Act), that the vice-chancellor had given 300*l.* bond (some say 500*l.* bond) to the terræ filius, to save them harmless, whatever they should say, provided it were neither blasphemy nor treason; but this I take to be a slander; a less encouragement would serve the turn with such persons. Since the Act (to satisfy the common clamour) the vice-chancellor hath imprisoned both of them, and, 'tis said, he means to expel them."

But another school of divines was now forming. They were men of liberal minds, fond of study, of years sufficient to see clearly the mistakes of the men around them, and young enough to strike out a new and independent course of action for themselves. Many of them had been educated by the Puritans; all of them wrote and spoke about them with a degree of charity the more remarkable because so directly opposite to the conduct of Sheldon and his party. Yet they were not Puritans in any sense. The Puritans were Calvinists, the new school were low Arminians—lower far than Laud and Montague. They were men of refined tastes, addicted to philosophical pursuits, and some, too, were profound scholars of the highest class. They detested affectation of all kinds, and it was impossible for them to be serious in religion without exposing themselves to the charge of affectation. Anxious to avoid the weakness of the Puritans they fell, with equal weakness, into the opposite extreme. They had been bred up amongst men who obtruded sacred things on frivolous occasions. The remedy they applied was, to expel the phraseology of Scripture, not only from their daily talk, but as far as possible, from their discourses in the pulpit. They became Christian philosophers rather than divines; and, except an occasional dissertation on the Trinity, or a Whitsunday sermon, in which the work of the Holy Spirit was carefully guarded against fanatical abuses, they scarcely interfered with matters of Christian doctrine. Still, they were men of blameless lives, and in a slothful age remarkable for pastoral diligence. Amongst the leaders were Witchcot, Cudworth, Wilkins, Moore, and Worthington: some of these were known to be men of eminent piety, but it was more apparent in their lives (and, since their deaths, by their private diaries) than in their preaching. They were equally afraid of superstition on the one hand, and enthusiasm on the other. They loved the constitution of the Church, and were well satisfied with the liturgy; but they did not think all other forms unlawful. They wished to see a spirit of greater moderation. They continued on good terms with nonconformists, and allowed great freedoms, not only in philosophical speculations, but in religion. Episcopius, the Arminian professor, who conducted the cause of the remonstrants at the Synod of Dordt, was one of their favourite authors; and the boldness of their inquiries into the reasonableness, rather than the scriptural warrant, of the truths

of religion, led them to be regarded as Socinians. They were all zealous against popery; and the Papists cried them down, in return, as Atheists, Deists, or, at best, Socinians, and men of no principles at all.

In the society of these men, Tillotson, Patrick, Lloyd, and Stillingfleet were trained,—the greatest divines of the next generation, but still with the faults of the school in which they had been educated. They received, and long bore, the title of the Latitudinarian divines; and, in the sense in which we have explained it, the charge was just. They attempted a divorce between evangelical doctrine and Christian practice. The former they at first neglected, and at length lost out of sight; the latter they displayed with admirable clearness, and if any other principles than those of the gospel could possibly have enforced it, they would not have so completely failed. But the founders of the school made no deep impression in the days of Charles II.; and their still more gifted pupils saw religion, in the Church of England, almost expiring in spite of all their efforts; and learned how vain it was for men without warmth and fervour to recall a nation to holiness, and how impossible to effect a second reformation without the aid of those inspiring doctrines which had quickened England into new life under Latimer and the first reformers.

The ecclesiastical occurrences of this reign, after the Act of Uniformity, are few, and of little consequence. It was the age of violent factions and scandalous intrigues. In 1667, the earl of Clarendon, in former times the friend of Charles I., the adviser of his wisest measures and the sharer of his misfortunes, was impeached of high treason before the House of Lords. He was now Lord Chancellor, and appears to have always been a faithful servant of the crown. The charges brought against him were, most of them, preposterous. He had acquired a large estate; he had procured grants of land for his relations; he had corresponded with Cromwell; he had advised the borrowing of money from the corporations on the king's authority; he had recommended the sale of Dunkirk to the French. But he fled from the storm, and spent the remainder of his life in France, where he was followed by a decree forbidding his return. No doubt his real crime was that he was an unbending Protestant, and that he was somewhat magisterial in his carriage towards the king. He left behind him a vindication of his conduct. One

hing he mentions that is not to be forgotten—all the severe neasures against the Presbyterians had been agreed upon at the ouncil table with perfect unanimity. Clarendon's bitterness owards them is the great stain upon his character; yet, if not riser, he was no worse, it seems, than other men of his party. However, his fall was the turning-point in the fortunes of the lissenters. From that time they were less mightily oppressed; nd in his speech to Parliament in 1667, the king ventured to introduce the subject of a toleration: "One thing more I venture o recommend to you at this present, that is, that you would eriously think of some course to beget a better union and comosure in the minds of my Protestant subjects in matters of eligion; whereby they may be induced not only to submit uietly to the Government, but also cheerfully give their assistnce to the support of it." No doubt he was influenced by a cret desire of favouring Roman Catholics. He could not expect ıy concessions in their favour while none were made to Nonnformists. But the House of Commons was inexorable, and et the king's speech with a petition "that he would enforce the ws against conventicles, and preserve the peace of the kingdom ainst unlawful assemblies of Papists and Nonconformists." ıeldon and the clergy of his party took the same course, and mplained bitterly of the increase of conventicles. Bad men ıve a keen eye for the vices of the clergy; and Charles II., careıs of his own duties, was sensitive enough to the failings of those hose profession it was to maintain the doctrines of the gospel, ıd display its purity. Burnet says that "when complaint was ade of some disorders and conventicles, the king said the clergy ere greatly to blame; for if they had lived well, and gone about eir parishes, and taken pains to convince the Nonconformists, e nation might have been well settled; but they thought of ıthing but to get good benefices, and keep a good table." A inful testimony, if we must believe it to be true.

In 1668, the project of a comprehension was renewed, and oposals were drawn up by bishop Wilkins and Dr. Burton, on half of Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Reynolds, the lord chief stice Hales, and others. It was communicated through the rd keeper Bridgman to Bates, Manton, and Baxter, the heads the Nonconformists. But it was again foiled by the fears and ımours of the Sheldon party; and 'the House of Commons,

seized with the same panic, passed a resolution "that no act for the comprehension or indulgence of dissenters, should be brought into that house!" At length, in 1671, the duke of York, the heir-apparent to the throne, having now formally abjured the Protestant religion, Charles, by proclamation, and without the consent of Parliament, proclaimed liberty of conscience to all his subjects. "We do declare our will and pleasure to be, that the execution of all, and all manner of penal laws, in matters ecclesiastical against whatever sort of Nonconformists and recusants, be immediately suspended, and they are hereby suspended." This remarkable instrument was dated from Whitehall, 15th of March, 1672.—Charles had been careful to submit it to the eye of his friend and patron the king of France.

As a legal document it was mere waste paper. The dispensing power, by which Charles II. by a stroke of his pen affects to set aside the statutes of the realm, was not in his possession. And now the question arose, and was violently agitated, whether the Nonconformists ought to avail themselves of an illegal indulgence; and the rather because it was clearly meant to promote the interests of the papal party. Various arguments were used; but that which had most weight with the Nonconformists was one, the force of which, little felt at that period, has made it an axiom in the legislation of more enlightened times. The liberty which the king now undertakes to grant, is, in fact, they said, a natural right: a right of which no legislative power on earth can lawfully deprive us, so long as we remain dutiful subjects. We, therefore, merely accept that which is our own. Most of their ministers took out licences under the proclamation, and opened their meeting-houses anew; and a cautious and moderate address of thanks was presented to the king. When the House of Commons met in 1673, it protested against the indulgence as contrary to law, and refused the supplies. The designs of the duke of York were now too apparent; and the Protestant dissenters declared, through one of the members for the city of London, "they would rather forfeit their own liberties, than enjoy them at the expense of the great Protestant interest." The king was in want of money, and, of course, abandoned his indulgence. The remaining years of the reign of Charles II. present us with a nation filled with impotent turbulence—with the agitations of a people helpless and bewildered—incapable,



ecause possessing neither public virtue nor individual piety, the rey of needless fears and the dupe of worthless pretenders; nd it was long before the Church of England recovered from its legradation.

James II. went openly to mass, and avowed himself a member f the Church of Rome. At first he promised to protect the hurch of England; but when the failure of the rash attempts f Argyle and Monmouth against his throne, had set his mind t ease, he scarcely concealed his intention of reducing Eng- nd into subjection to the see of Rome. To try the temper of he nation, the clergy were forbidden to preach against popery; he king, by what was again termed a "dispensing power," uperseded the laws against the Papists; and the judges who efused to recognize his absolute right to set aside these penal nactments were dismissed. To conceal his project, or to render ; more palatable, the Nonconformists were taken into favour, ncouraged to re-open their chapels, and assured of the king's rotection. In defiance of an express law (namely, that by hich the Court of High Commission had been suppressed in 651), he issued an ecclesiastical commission: it is dated pril 1686; and empowers the archbishop of Canterbury, the shops of Durham and Rochester, with five others, to inquire to all misdemeanors and contempts which might be punished r the censures of the Church, and to call before them all clesiastical persons of what degree and dignity soever, and nish the offenders by excommunication, suspension, depriva- n, or other ecclesiastical censures. The clergy, now thoroughly ake to the dangers from popery, nobly did their duty, firmly aintaining the Protestant cause, yet with respect and loyalty the throne. The bishop of London refused to punish one of clergy for preaching on the controverted points, before he had en heard; and he himself was summoned before the new com- ssion, of which Jeffries, the lord chancellor, was president (in ose absence, indeed, the commission could not sit), and was ated by him with his usual brutality. The bishop objected ainst the court as illegal; and pleaded further, that he had eyed the king's orders as far as he legally could; having pended the accused party until his case should be tried in the lesiastical court; and he could do no more. But arguments, Burnet remarks, in his account of this proceeding, how strong

soever, are feeble things when a sentence is resolved on, before the cause is heard. The bishop was suspended, and he became at once the idol of the nation. James's daughter, the princess of Orange, had the courage to remonstrate with her father, which only provoked his obstinacy. But in a few months the bishop was tacitly allowed to resume his functions. So odious was the first proceeding of this new commission.

In the same year the vice-chancellor of Cambridge was suspended, for refusing to confer a degree, at the king's command, on a Benedictine monk. Soon after, James sent a mandamus to the vice-president and fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, to elect Farmer, a Roman Catholic priest, and a man of worthless character, president, the office being vacant. They calmly remonstrated, and chose Dr. Hough to the vacant office. Farmer's character was so notorious that even James was ashamed to force him upon the college; but his infatuation would not permit him to retrace his steps. Another mandate came, commanding them to choose Parker, bishop of Oxford, a pliant man, and a tool of the court; the fellows refused, and were deprived in consequence. The university of Oxford, devoted in its loyalty to Charles I., had transferred its enthusiasm to both his sons, and, up to this period, had been complaisant, even when James was most outrageous. Happily for the Protestant cause, he now forced his loyal university to choose between their religion and their king. They had just subscribed and published a set of propositions, inculcating abject submission to the powers that be, and denouncing as unchristian the doctrine that "a king, the representative, and vicegerent of God" could lawfully be resisted, however great the provocation. This affair of Magdalen College showed the real worth of such professions. Much to the honour of the university, they were rescinded by a vote of her convocation in 1710.

The next year the crisis came. James published a declaration of indulgence in the "Gazette" of the 4th of April, 1687; the most liberal, and, if honestly meant, the wisest measure of any of the Stuarts, and yet that which drove him into exile, and despoiled him of his crown. It proclaimed a general liberty of conscience to all his subjects, of what persuasion soever. Never in the history of nations were the facts of the story and the meaning of the events—the course of the stream and the direc-

on of the under-current—more opposite. The legislation was orthy of the nineteenth century; the intentions it concealed ould have disgraced the twelfth. James's purpose was to troduce popery at all hazards. To gain his ends, the Non-nformists must be won over. They could not, he thought, ject to a measure so vastly to their own advantage; they uld not protest against the introduction of popery through the me door by which the demon of persecution, which had trou-led their borders so long, should at last be shut out; and with e dissenters in his favour, he should have nothing to fear from e Church of England. But he had miscalculated: the Non-nformists, with a noble self-denial, declined to avail themselves an indulgence which they clearly saw was meant to favour the troduction of popery, and to crush the Church of England. ouis XIV. was tracking his Protestant subjects with fire and lood. James was known to be his warm ally; he was not *then* nown to be his obsequious instrument and slave, a fact which e correspondence between Louis and Barillon, his minister in ondon, places beyond all controversy: fortunately, too, the dulgence rested on the king's arbitrary will. The Parliament d not been consulted; and, ever since the earlier days of lizabeth, the Nonconformists and their fathers had rested eir dependence chiefly on the House of Commons. Scarcely congregation availed itself of the indulgence. Mortified, t not discouraged, the king renewed his declaration by pro-amation, April 27, 1688, and ordered it to be read in all urches and chapels in time of divine service, on days specified. he bishops were required to have it distributed, and to cause to be read throughout their dioceses; and with this demand me few of them complied.

But now it was that the majority of the bench, and the clergy, lt that the time for action was come. The inroads of popery ust be resisted now or never; and it was a happy circumstance at the resistance would be bloodless; if it occasioned suffering, e suffering would fall upon themselves. Eighteen bishops out f twenty-five, refused to publish the declaration. In London it as read only in seven churches, and over all England in about vo hundred. The commission now issued citations to the diso-edient clergy, which the bishops refused to serve. Seven of em met at Lambeth and drew up a respectful remonstrance to



the king: they were not wanting, they said, in respect for his Majesty, or in tenderness for dissenters; they were willing to make such terms with the latter as Parliament should agree upon; but the declaration was founded upon a dispensing power, —a power once admitted, which might set aside all laws, ecclesiastical and civil. In their consciences they believed it to be illegal, and they could neither read it themselves nor command their clergy to do so. The names subscribed are illustrious in the annals of the Church of England: Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury; Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph; Ken, of Bath and Wells; Turner, of Ely; Lake, of Chichester; White, of Peterborough; and Trelawny, of Bristol.

The seven bishops were summoned before the Privy Council, and required to acknowledge the petition as their act; they readily did so with a caveat that a confession thus extorted could not legally be made use of to their disadvantage. They were charged with printing their petition; this they absolutely denied. The petition, it was thought, had been printed by some of those to whom the king himself had shown it. They were then required to enter into securities to appear before the Court of King's Bench: this, too, as peers of the realm, they refused to do; and they were, by a warrant signed by the Privy Council, committed to the Tower. There were thousands living who could remember the tumults with which the civil war had opened in 1642; the melancholy parade with which king Charles had visited the Guildhall after the arrest of the five members, when he met fear or sorrow in every eye that was turned upon him; the frenzy of tumultuous joy with which Prynne and Bastwick were received when their unrighteous sentences were reversed; the military triumphs of Cromwell; the awful gloom of Charles's execution; and the exultation, bordering upon madness, of the restoration, and the 29th of May. But the men who remembered all this, lived to see it all surpassed. The committal of the bishops to the Tower, threw the whole city, to use the words of Burnet, "into the highest fermentation that was ever known in the memory of man." They were sent by water from Whitehall, and all along, as they passed, the banks of the river were full of people who awaited their approach upon their knees to ask their blessing, and greeted them as they were slowly rowed along, with cheers; the soldiers and officers in the Tower caught



up the enthusiasm that prevailed without, and received their prisoners with every demonstration of regard and reverence, falling on their knees and asking for their blessing. When the day of their trial came, the same enthusiasm broke out again. Vast crowds filled Westminster Hall and its approaches. The charge was for publishing a libel tending to defame the king's government; but of their signatures to the petition there was no legal proof, except their own admission before the Privy Council, which it was thought a base thing to use against them; and of their having had any share in its publication, there was no proof whatever. But the dispensing power was the grand point at issue, and the right of remonstrance and petition. The crown lawyers asserted the doctrine that although the two houses had a right to petition in parliament, it was seditious to do so on points of government, even for members of the upper house, except in their parliamentary capacity. The trial lasted ten hours: the jury then retired and deliberated all night. The next morning they returned their verdict of acquittal. The joy was rapturous and universal; it was carried in a few minutes, in the shouts of thousands, from Westminster into the city, and to the camp at Hounslow, where the king was waiting the decision; and in a space of time incredibly short, to every town and parish in the kingdom. James, still infatuated, was only the more obstinate or the more enraged; he was determined, he said, to punish the disobedient clergy; and they were actually cited before the ecclesiastical commissioners. But the prince of Orange was already taking his measures in concert with the patriots at home. On the 5th of November he landed at Torbay, and before the end of the year, a bloodless revolution had placed the Church and kingdom in a state of safety, and James was an exile and a pensioner at Versailles.

The year 1689, the first of William and Mary, is marked by the passing of the Toleration Act. Heretofore, dissent had been illegal. An assembly for religious worship, if not according to the forms of the Church of England, and under the protection of a license unless in the parish church, was a conventicle, and all who were present were liable to punishment: the Act of Toleration put an end to these oppressions. Some wise men would have gone further: an Act of Comprehension was prepared, and even passed the House of Lords, which, if it had not succeeded

in healing the divisions of the Church, would at least have removed many subjects of irritation of long standing. The bill dispensed with the promise of assent and consent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and substituted a promise of general conformity; it dispensed with kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and with the sign of the cross in baptism when the parties considered the use of it unlawful; but it was thrown out in the House of Commons.

In connexion with these endeavours to reduce, if possible, the whole of Protestant England into cordial union with the national Church, a royal commission was issued under the great seal, 17th of September, 1689, to prepare such alterations and amendments of the liturgy and canons, and such proposals for the reformation of ecclesiastical abuses, as the commissioners should see fit. These were to be presented to the convocation and to parliament, that "if it should be judged fit they may be established in due form of the law." The commission was directed to ten of the bishops, four professors, four archdeacons, and six eminent clergymen of the city of London. It included the names of Lamplugh, Compton, Sprat, and Burnet, of the bishops; besides Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Patrick of the deans; and Tenison and Beveridge of the inferior clergy. Dr. Jane, of Oxford, represented the extreme party, the advocates of prerogative and High Church principles, and never attended after the first three sittings; he appears to have been dissatisfied with the authority under which they were convened; and drew from Lloyd, Bishop of St Asaph, the remark, that those who were not satisfied with the commission might withdraw and not be spies upon the rest.

The commission sat six weeks: it embraced able men of all parties. If their tone of piety was less fervent, and their acquaintance with ecclesiastical history less extensive, than that of the reformers, they had some other qualifications which seemed to give them a peculiar fitness for the task. They were men of liberal studies: some of them came to the work, like Beveridge, earnest divines; some, like Tillotson, political moralists; some, like Burnet, were both statesmen and divines. Many of them had been brought up amongst the Puritans, and knew how to appreciate their objections; all of them had witnessed the perils of the Church, and felt how nearly in the late

reign it had been driven to the verge of ruin. A revolution scarcely over may be supposed to have taught them caution, and their own previous dangers wisdom and experience. But their project entirely failed; for at this period the leaders of the Church were far in advance of the parochial clergy; and while the bishops and the House of Lords were striving to conciliate dissenters, the lower house of convocation was a scene of disgraceful violence and vulgar party spirit. Jane and Tillotson were nominated to them for the office of prolocutor; their choice of the former showed the disposition in which they met together. The proposal of concessions to dissenters filled them with vexation or alarm. They passed a resolution not even to entertain the question of alterations in the liturgy and canons. It was in vain the bishop of London, in his answer to the prolocutor's speech, made a calm aud dignified remonstrance; they were scarcely respectful even to the king himself. The upper house of convocation sent down an address acknowledging the protection which the Protestant religion in general, and the Church of England in particular, had received from him. But this would have recognised the Presbyterian Churches of the Continent; and they refused to thank the king for his care of them, and erased the words "this and all other Protestant Churches." The king dissolved them, and for ten years they met no more.

A journal of the proceedings, taken by Dr. Williams, bishop of Chichester, one of the commissioners, together with an exact copy of the alterations proposed in the Book of Common Prayer, has been preserved at Lambeth. It has just been printed, "in return to an address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 14th of March, 1854." Every sentence of the Prayer-book seems to have been subjected to a close revision. We can but notice a few of the most striking changes. The word priest is generally, though not invariably, changed for presbyter. A rubric is inserted explaining that the surplice is used only as an ancient and decent habit; and that if any minister declared that he could not satisfy his conscience in the use of it, the bishop might dispense with his doing so, and appoint a curate to officiate in his stead. In the state prayers some of the titles of honour are omitted, such as royal highness, &c. In the creed of St. Athanasius, the condemning clauses "are to be understood as relating only to those who obstinately deny the substance of the

Christian faith." In the litany, additional supplications are introduced against infidelity, profaneness, superstitions, and idolatry; against drunkenness and gluttony; against lying, cursing, and perjury, and all injustice. And to the petition, "by the coming of the Holy Ghost," is added, "and by thy continual intercession at the right hand of God." Many of the collects are enlarged, generally by a fuller exposition of the original, but occasionally by the introduction of new petitions. In the communion office there are many alterations, which, however, affect no point of doctrine, except, perhaps, in the passage where the penitent is directed to apply to the minister of God's word that he may receive the benefit of absolution, which is altered thus, "may receive such spiritual advice and comfort as may lead to the quieting of his conscience," &c. And by a rubric at the end, the minister may give the sacramental bread and wine "in some convenient place or pew, to those who are persuaded in their conscience that they cannot receive it kneeling without sin." And in the baptismal service the same liberty is permitted with regard to the cross. The commination service introduces our Lord's beatitudes in the form of a litany; and instead of the denunciations, as at present, concludes with supplications to be delivered from various sins which are enumerated seriatim. In the visitation for the sick the absolution is struck out, and these words introduced: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners, &c.—upon thy true faith and repentance by his authority committed to me, I pronounce thee absolved," &c. And in the burial for the dead, the expression of a sure and certain hope of the resurrection of the departed to eternal life, is altered into "a firm belief of the resurrection of the dead at the last day, in which they who die in the Lord shall rise to eternal life."

The bishops had suffered severely from James's rigour; they had felt and avowed that the Church of England was in the utmost danger. But when he was deposed, in some of them anxious scruples arose. Their notion of the divine right of kings led them to doubt whether any misconduct in the sovereign could justify his people in dissolving their allegiance, and transferring it to another. Of the seven bishops who had been imprisoned, three (including Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury) refused to recognise the new king. They were soon joined



by a considerable number of the clergy; and thus within the pale of the Church of England a new schism was created, the more dangerous because political. The party we speak of bore the name of NONJURORS. Refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, of course they were not recognised by law; but they were men, in general, of quiet, harmless lives, or political enthusiasts, contented to suffer for conscience' sake, and not often detected in any direct attempts to subvert the existing government. Their worship was conducted in hired rooms or private houses; for their numbers, small at first, exhibited through the whole of their existence one unbroken process of decay. They ordained several bishops, and retained most of the forms of the Church of England, in the faint hope of one day seeing a Stuart on the throne. They did not finally disappear till George III. had sat some years upon the throne; they became extinct in 1780. It is only necessary to add that their views of Church government were those of the extreme section of high churchmen. They held the absolute necessity of an episcopate, and of apostolic succession, and taught the sacramental system of grace as maintained by the Anglo-catholic or Tractarian party of our own day. Also that the Church is subject to the jurisdiction, not of the civil magistrate, but of God alone, particularly in matters of a religious nature: that, consequently, Sancroft, and the other bishops, deposed by King William III., remained, notwithstanding their deposition, true bishops to the day of their death; and that those who were substituted in their places were the unjust possessors of other men's property: that these unjust possessors of ecclesiastical dignities were rebels against the State, as well as schismatics in the Church; and that all, therefore, who held communion with them, were also chargeable with rebellion and schism: that this schism, which rends the Church in pieces, is a most heinous sin, and that the punishment due to it must fall heavy upon all those who do not return sincerely to the true Church from which they have departed. They merged at length, on the death of the Pretender, the last representative of the Stuart line, into the SCOTCH EPISCOPAL CHURCH—to which we refer the reader.

By the confession of all parties doctrinal religion in the Church of England was at its lowest point of depression at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and many years passed away before

the slightest improvement was visible. A hundred years had been spent in preparing revolutions and recovering from their calamities. The revolution of 1688, though accomplished without bloodshed, had left painful traces of another kind. Party spirit had already degenerated into faction; political and religious differences, even within the Church, were now distempered with malignity. Whatever the Church of England had gained by the Act of Uniformity, and the final ejectment of the Puritan party in 1661, she had certainly not gained repose. When the seventeenth century began, she was rent with the contest between Puritans and prelatists. At the commencement of the eighteenth she was distracted with High and Low Church factions; both, with a few noble exceptions on either side, sorely deficient in that personal zeal and piety, and only less deficient in that deep theological and biblical lore which had always given dignity and importance both to the contests and the combatants of a preceding age. "Politics and party spirit," says Burnet, "eat out what little piety remains amongst us." Men of the world and politicians began to look with undisguised scorn upon the conflicts of Churchmen, and the man was unfashionable in good society who did not treat religion with at least a polite contempt. Mr. Macaulay, in his brilliant history, has drawn the character of the parochial clergy of this period with a severe pen. But we must allow that the clergy of the country parishes were, as a body, ignorant and inefficient men. The universities, even a century later, did not impose any test of scholarship on their graduates, which really proved that they had gained the elements of a liberal education; and even now the number is considerable of those who, having lounged through the universities, lounge through the remainder of a useless life. But at this period zeal and learning were the rare exceptions. Burnet tells us that the ember weeks,—the periods of the examination of candidates for holy orders,—were the misery of his life; and he draws a melancholy picture of the ignorance and incapacity of the future race of curates and incumbents, who passed under his hands. Controversial divinity, as neither reproving fashionable vice, nor disturbing the leaden current of the times, was alone rewarded, and therefore was chiefly cultivated. It is remarkable that the most popular book of devotion of the age, Nelson's "Fasts and Festivals," was the work of a layman. The clergy distinguished

nselves by pamphlets on the Protestant succession, on the ulness of nonconformity, and on subjects more directly politi- and secular. There were, however, it must be borne in mind, strious men amongst them of another character. The Church not without its worthies in an age that produced Burnet's atise "On the Thirty-Nine Articles," and his "Pastoral Care." tler's "Analogy," and bishop Newton's "Dissertation on the phecies," belong to a rather later date. Bishop Bull, whose , at least, was great, and his learning profound,—though his ology was questioned at the time, and publicly censured by divinity professor at Oxford, and by Morley, bishop of Win- ster,—died in 1709.

Yet even in these, in some respects the darkest times of the urch of England, two projects were formed which have been ductive of a vast amount of good—the Society for the Pro- tion of Christian Knowledge, chiefly by the circulation of les, Prayer-books, and religious tracts, was formed in 1698; l out of it arose the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Foreign Parts, which obtained a royal charter in 1704. These societies were designed, the former to supply the spiritual essities of the poor and neglected at home; the latter to et the wants of the colonists in what were then termed our tories and plantations abroad. And to them the honour ongs of having set the first example of those Protestant titutions for carrying on the work of Christian benevolence, h at home and abroad, which have multiplied in the present tury to so vast an extent.

An affair occurred in 1710 of which perhaps it may safely be rmed that never did so insignificant a business affect import- e on the page of history; yet it must be mentioned here ause it throws a strong light upon the state of things in the urch of England. Dr Hoadley, afterwards the celebrated hop of Bangor, preached before the Lord Mayor, on the measure obedience due to civil government; asserting that it was not y lawful but a duty incumbent on Christian men to resist l kings and tyrannical governments; he concluded with a dication of the revolution which had recently occurred, and of government then existing. Upon this a cry was raised by Tory and High Church party (names which these events ught into popular use), that he had preached up rebellion;

and he was attacked by Leslie, a Nonjuror, and other pamphleteers. Sacheverel, a London clergyman, took up the question, and answered Hoadley from the pulpit. A man more unfit to take part in such a controversy could not have been found. His mind was naturally confused and incapable of close reasoning; he was shallow and declamatory; and had the boldness which belongs to men who are conscious of no infirmities. In such times Sacheverel was of course popular; and the more so, because he threw out offensive reflections upon all who differed from him, however high their rank; making particular allusions to the bench of bishops. The House of Commons condescended to impeach him, and he became at once the idol of the Jacobites. The clamour was industriously spread throughout the kingdom, that the Church was in danger, and it was believed. The clergy in general espoused Sacheverel as their champion who had stood in the breach, and they made his cause their own. Sermons were preached, both in London and other places, to provoke the people, in which, it is said, they succeeded beyond expectation. Much time was spent in preparing the articles of impeachment, and the answer to them was delayed as long as possible. In the mean time the people were possessed with the apprehension that a design was formed, by the Court, the Whigs, and the Low Church party, to pull down the Church; and that this prosecution was meant to try their strength. If Sacheverel fell the Church was lost. When his answer was presented to the House, it was bold and haughty, and scarcely respectful. He made no submissions, but defended all that he had preached. He was ordered to be tried at the bar of the House of Lords; but it was the interest of his party to keep alive the excitement of the people. It was moved and carried that the trial should take place in Westminster Hall, where the House of Commons might be present. This magnificent array would provoke a smile, were it not for one consideration; it was not Sacheverel but the revolution of 1688 that was in truth upon its trial. At last the trial began in Westminster Hall; it lasted three weeks, during which all other business was at a stand; it was the only subject on which men spoke and thought. Sacheverel lodged in the Temple, and came every day to Westminster in his coach, in a slow and stately manner, escorted by thousands. They pressed about him as he left his carriage for the honour

kissing his hand, and showed all the enthusiasm which is due heroes or to martyrs. Enthusiasm in a mob soon leads to lence. Several meeting-houses were burned in the city. ose who refused to join in the cry of "The Church and cheverel," were knocked down, insulted, and sometimes killed. ueen Anne, in a proclamation, laid the blame upon the Papists l Nonjurors; and there can be no doubt they instigated the ts. Our commiseration, at the same time, is due to the norant and misguided rabble; their dread of popery, and a cere attachment to the Protestant cause, made them the dupes men as weak as themselves, but far more designing. cheverel's trial occurred in 1710, and (in one respect not unlike t of Warren Hastings in the same hall, seventy years after-rds) began with vigour and expired of inanition. The accu-ion was conducted by managers for the House of Commons; read his own defence, which was plausible and pathetic; it s supposed to have been written for him by Bishop Atterbury, Nonjuror. A long debate followed in the House of Lords. that assembly no one attempted to justify the sermon, or to ert the doctrine of absolute non-resistance. It is on occasions h as these, that the House of Lords has so often commended lf to the deep respect of the English people; and shown that, the House of Commons gives full expression to their will, House of Peers is no less necessary to interpose sometimes ween the democracy and its own excesses. But, in fact, at s period, it is impossible not to be struck with the contrast ween the wisdom and moderation of the House of Lords, and factious turbulence both of the Convocation and the House Commons. The peers who defended Sacheverel said no more n this—that a clergyman preaching on the duty of obedience ght to state the doctrine in full and general terms. Obedience s the rule, the exceptions were very rare, hard to be defined l needless for the purposes of public religious instruction. me of the bishops spoke on each side. Hooper, bishop of th and Wells, in excuse of Sacheverel; but Talbot of Oxford, ake of Lincoln, Trimnel of Norwich, and Burnet of Salisbury, the other side. "We showed," says the latter, "the false-od of an opinion too commonly received, that the Church of gland had always condemned resistance, even in the cases of treme tyranny; the books of the Maccabees, bound in our

Bibles and approved by our Articles, (as containing examples of life and instructions of manners, though not as any part of the canon of the Scripture,) contained a full and clear precedent for resisting and shaking off extreme tyranny. The Jews under that brave family, not only defended themselves against Antiochus, but formed themselves into a new and free government. Our homilies were only against wilful rebellion; such as had been then against our kings, while they were governing by law; but, at that very time, Queen Elizabeth had assisted, first the Scotch, and then the French, and to the end of her days, continued to protect the States, who not only resisted, but, as the Maccabees had done, shook off the Spanish yoke, and set up a new form of government: in all this she was not only justified by the best writers of that time, such as Jewell and Bilson, but was approved and supported in it. Both her parliaments and convocations gave her subsidies, to carry on those wars. The same principles were kept up all King James's reign. In the beginning of king Charles's reign, he protected the Rochellers, and asked supplies from the Parliament to enable him to do it effectually; and ordered a fast and prayer to be made for them." At length the sermon was ordered to be burnt, and, by a vote of the House of Peers, Sacheverel was suspended for three years. The famous decrees of the university of Oxford, of 1683, in favour of divine right and passive obedience were included in the censure of the House of Peers, and burnt together with Sacheverel's sermon. The punishment, such as it was, was regarded as a triumph by the Tories, and was celebrated through the kingdom with bonfires and illuminations.

By a curious inconsistency the High Church party, generally headed by the bishops in former times, was now opposed to them. During the reign of Queen Anne the constant effort of the bench of bishops was to restrain the violence of the parochial clergy. If the latter were fairly represented in their lower House of Convocation, they were, as a body, averse in politics to the principles of the Revolution, and, in religion, to the principles of the Reformation; but we must be allowed to entertain a doubt whether, at this time, that assembly spoke the voice of the parochial clergy. One serious objection to the House of Convocation, as at present constituted, is, that it throws the representation of the Church too much into the hands of the cathedral clergy, who

generally have it in their power both to provide the candidates and to manage the elections. And a hundred and forty years ago, when the cathedral close was far more important, and the village parsonage far less accessible than at present, this evil no doubt existed to a much greater extent. We think we are safe in the conclusion that no inconsiderable number, at least a large minority, of the parochial clergy still held themselves aloof from faction and violent extremes, in the calm pursuit of the duties of their sacred calling. It was amongst this class soon afterwards that the regeneration of the Church began. At present, however, as far as religion was concerned, the prospect was gloomy.

From broils like these, so absorbing at the time, so insignificant to posterity, we turn aside and dwell for a moment on a subject of more importance, the state of the pulpit and of religion during the reign of Anne. It was at this time that the pulpit of the Church of England assumed a character which it still retains. The divines of the Reformation were, in the truest sense, eloquent and popular. Latimer is the father of English eloquence; and, could he reappear amongst us, might instantly claim the supremacy of the pulpit once more. Fervid, pathetic, argumentative, impassioned, abounding in shrewd remarks, and venturing sometimes into the very province of wit and even of broad humour, yet always recovering himself in good time, and chasing off the offending smile with tears, he had every quality, if we except grace and elegance, for a perfect orator. He evidently gave the tone and character to the preachers of the Reformation; but such talents are always rare, and even Latimer must have been indebted for his success in some measure to the vast enthusiasm of the Reformation. By degrees the fervour of the pulpit subsided, though still, through the whole of Elizabeth's reign, preachers of a high order of eloquence are to be met with. Under James I. the pulpit was defiled with the pedantry and affectation of the age. Bishop Hall, however, has left some noble studies in scriptural biography, which were heard, as they are still read, with interest. But this is a kind of preaching which aims no higher than to interest and instruct. The loftier flights of eloquence, and, therefore, the deeper emotions of the heart, are beyond its reach. From this time till the school of Tillotson was formed, the pulpit was dry, formal, and scholastic;

retiring more and more from the wants and sympathies of the multitude, and addressing itself to the educated classes who took an interest in religion. The multitude, meanwhile, taking its reprisals, by a growing indifference to religion, and, at length, an utter scorn of the clerical office and its public instructions. A new style of preaching was introduced chiefly by the example of Tillotson and his associates. They abandoned the cumbrous forms under which the pulpit had been crushed, and, following the dictates of nature and good sense, preaching in a natural and easy method, they contributed more than can be well imagined to reform the preaching of the age. Instead of a long and wearisome exposition of the text, a sort of concordance upon every word, with a refutation of every heresy to which it had ever been applied, and a few practical uses at the last, these preachers gave a short paraphrase or explanation of their text, with no unnecessary parade of learning or criticism, and then addressed themselves at once, through the understanding, to the conscience of the hearer. Tillotson preached in London, where his popularity was unbounded. His hearers were delighted with sermons clear, simple, and no longer of a wearisome and intolerable length. In the Augustine age, as it has been termed, of Queen Anne, such discourses became the models of the clergy. Purity of style and grammar were now cultivated in a way unknown before. The clergy, too, at least in London, were scholars and men of considerable powers. Tenison, the archbishop, and Wake, his successor, in 1716, were learned and exemplary prelates; Sherlock, the master of the Temple, was the ablest of the Tillotson school, and there were others of deserved repute. But the two faults of this party were of a serious kind; the great doctrines of the Christian faith were obscurely taught, and its sanctions were not enforced with the authority and seriousness due to their importance. Tillotson appears to have thought (and, indeed, Burnet, in his funeral sermon, gives an intimation to that effect) that the laity in general were more concerned with the duties of religion than its doctrines. This was the fatal error of his party and of their followers; and it implies a painful amount of ignorance on their part upon a subject with regard to which ignorance in a Christian minister has no excuse, for it is in our practical acquaintance with these doctrines that the only sufficient motives to obedience are to be found. The hearer, for instance,

who is exhorted to repentance, must previously be made acquainted with the reasons why repentance is required; and these are, on the one hand, the doctrines of the fall of man and his actual transgression, and, on the other, the purity of the Divine law and the necessity of the atonement made for sin in the person of the Redeemer. Instead of motives such as these the Tillotson divines spoke of the fitness of things, the complacency of virtue, the vexations and remorse of an ill-spent life, and the certainty of future judgment; but even here their addresses were cold and unimpassioned. In their theory of metaphysics man was simply a reasoning machine, everything was to be settled by pure reason; or if they occasionally betray themselves into some warmth, and address our hopes and fears, or kindle the fires of imagination, and so assault the heart, it is but for a moment; it seems to have been an oversight, and they hurry away like men ashamed. The divines of the Tillotson school scarcely made any impression on the age; they were admired by men of taste and utterly neglected by the multitude. Profligacy declined underneath their teaching; and this was their highest achievement, for religion made no progress. Grave fears were entertained by the wisest men lest, in the course of a generation, religion should become extinct.

After Sacheverel's affair the Convocation was allowed to meet, but they assembled only to quarrel and break up. A bill was offered by the archbishop of Canterbury to prevent the re-baptizing of dissenters; it was intended to put a stop to an opinion which was then regarded, according to Burnet, as new and extravagant, that no ecclesiastical functions were valid if performed by persons who were not episcopally ordained. This doctrine was advocated by Dodwell, Hickes, and others. They taught that none could be saved except those who, by the sacraments, had a federal right to the blessings of the covenant of which these were the seals, so that all who died without the sacraments were left to the uncovenanted mercies of God; and, since none had a right to give the sacraments but those who were commissioned, and since the commission ran only in the line of an episcopal apostolic succession, it followed that sacraments administered by other men were void; the dissenters, therefore, were not even Christians, and the scheme of any comprehension which should include dissent was of course an act of great profanity. Dodwell carried

his speculations so far on the subject as to assert that the soul is naturally mortal, but that the immortalizing virtue is conveyed by baptism. To put a stop to these views the archbishop proposed a declaration against the irregularity of baptism by persons not in holy orders, coupled with a declaration that, according to the practice of the primitive Church, and the constant usage of the Church of England, no baptism with water, in the name of the three persons of the Trinity, ought to be repeated. It passed the upper House of Convocation with only the dissenting voice of Sprat bishop of Rochester, but in the lower House it met with no encouragement; they refused even to entertain it. These were the palmy days of infidelity; the days of Toland, Whiston, Collins, Tindal, and Shaftesbury. The Convocation censured their writings, but wanted the power to repress their principles. Infidelity spread through all ranks, for "while men slept the enemy sowed tares."

The Bangorian controversy, connected as it is with the abeyance of Convocation for upwards of a century, claims a passing notice. The dispute was occasioned by a sermon which the king, George I., who heard it, ordered to be printed. The preacher, Hoadley, bishop of Bangor, endeavoured to prove that the true Church did not require any other than spiritual sanctions; that it was not intended by its divine founder to be supported by political aids, or checked by political discouragements; that such interferences, on the part of the state, tended to give to the Church a worldly character, not altogether consistent with genuine piety, and not favourable to pure devotion; and that the ecclesiastical establishment would flourish more under its own guidance than under temporal direction. The kingdoms of this world, he said, could not suggest proper views of that government which ought to prevail, in a visible and sensible manner, in Christ's kingdom. The sanctions of Christ's laws, appointed by himself, were not the rewards of this world, not the offices or honours of this state, not the pains of imprisonment or of exile, or the discouragements that belong to human society: these could not be the instruments of such a persuasion as would be acceptable to God. To teach Christians that they must either profess, or be silent against their own consciences, because of the authority of others over them, was to found that authority upon the ruins of sincerity and common honesty; to teach a doctrine



which would have prevented the Reformation, and even the existence of the Church of England. No power, repugnant to the supreme authority of Christ, could be justly claimed over the Church by Christians even of the highest rank. These opinions were controverted, with that asperity which religious questions always appear to attract around them when viewed in connexion with secular politics, by a host of writers, of whom Sherlock may be mentioned as the chief. His conduct in this controversy was so offensive, that he was removed from the list of the king's chaplains. The Convocation, as a matter of course, took up the quarrel, delighted with an opportunity of opposing the Whig policy of the court; nor must it be forgotten that Hoadley, and many of his supporters, were justly obnoxious to the orthodox clergy. If high churchmen had exaggerated the sacraments, Hoadley passed into the other extreme. He was one of the leaders of the rational clergy of the age, who, in their attempts to prove the reasonableness of Christianity, presented it to the world in the mere nakedness of a code of morals. About the same time other struggles, in which the clergy took their full share, embittered the quarrel between them and the court. A bill was introduced for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts; it was rejected; and, in retaliation, it was followed by a bill from the opposite party, which shared the same fate. The design of this latter bill was to inflict penalties on Socinians, Arians, and all others, who might be guilty of blasphemy and profaneness. Such legislation, though often attempted, has always failed of producing good results. The evils complained of are great indeed; but they are such as to elude the vigilance of human jurisprudence; or if not, since penal laws of this kind affect none but the conscientious, they encourage hypocrisy on the one hand, or they invade the sacred domain of conscience on the other.

The Convocation was dissolved in 1717. Its violent proceedings had evidently brought it into contempt; while the peculiarity of its constitution caused it to be regarded with jealousy, —on the one hand by patriots fond of liberty, on the other by statesmen fond of power. After having slumbered for a hundred and forty years, the revival of Convocation is once more demanded by a considerable party; and some men of influence have placed themselves at the head of the movement. We take

the opportunity to lay before the reader a sketch of the constitution of this venerable and once renowned assembly.

Ecclesiastical councils, provincial and national, have been holden in England from the earliest times; out of these the Convocation grew. From the reign of Edward I., when the commons were first assembled in Parliament, it became the practice to summon the Convocation at the same time. About the year 1400 it assumed its present form: the bishops meeting in one place, and the priors, deans, archdeacons, and proctors, or representatives of the clergy, in another. There was at this time a Convocation for the province of York, and another for that of Canterbury; and the clergy already possessed the right of granting subsidies—that is, of taxing themselves; thus, in 1452, the Convocation readily granted a subsidy to the king, but refused to do so for the pope, though requested by the nuncio. At the Reformation, the king assumed the title of supreme head of the Church. Both Convocations hesitated to acknowledge his claim, and that of Canterbury was fined 100,000*l*., that of York, 18,000*l*., for their contumacy. The king, says Strype, made them buckle to at last; and the recognition of the supremacy was made at Canterbury in 1531, and the next year at York. In 1532, the Act of Submission passed: it required the clergy, in the first place, to consent that no ordinance or constitution should be enacted or enforced but with the king's permission; secondly, that the existing constitutions should be revised by his Majesty's commissioners; and, thirdly, that all other constitutions, being agreeable to the laws of God and of the land, should be enforced. The bishops demurred, but the king and the commons were against them, and they were compelled to yield; and, in 1534, their submission was confirmed by Act of Parliament. Since this period the Convocation can only be assembled by the king's writ: when assembled, it cannot make new canons without a royal *licence*, which is a separate act from the permission to assemble; having agreed upon canons in conformity with the royal licence, they cannot be published or take effect until confirmed by the sovereign; nor, lastly, can they enact any canon which is against the laws or customs of the land, the king's prerogative, even should the king himself consent. For the last of these reasons, we may here observe, the canons of 1640 are invalid; and on this and other accounts th



were immediately repealed, or rather declared null and void by the Long Parliament. Prior to this period, the archbishop of each province could assemble his provincial synod at his pleasure; though, at the same time, the sovereign could summon both provinces by a royal writ. When, too, the Convocation met at the command of the king, the archbishop could either dissolve them, when the business of the crown was finished, or continue the synod for other purposes by his own authority The metropolitans could assemble the clergy at pleasure. They had a right independent of the crown. Even when assembled for state purposes by the king's writ, the metropolitans could proceed to the consideration of matters ecclesiastical. Prior to the Act of Submission there were, in fact, two kinds of ecclesiastical councils, often, in practice, merged into one. First, a Synod for ecclesiastical matters, called by the archbishops; secondly, a Convocation for granting subsidies and other secular business, assembled by the crown. But by the Act of Submission these rights were lost. It is in consequence of this Act that the dean and chapter of a cathedral are compelled to choose for their bishop the individual nominated by the crown. The right of taxing themselves was relinquished by the clergy on the restoration of Charles II. It was not then perceived, that as the Convocation would be no longer wanted for granting subsidies, it would certainly perish whenever it should come into collision with the crown and Parliament.

England is divided into the two provinces of Canterbury and York; and by the term Convocation is meant the synod or provincial council of those provinces. There are therefore two Convocations, each independent of the other, but instances have frequently occurred in which they have acted together, by mutual consent. Commissioners have sometimes been sent from York to sit in the Convocation of Canterbury, with full powers to act on behalf of the northern Convocation. Since the Reformation, for obvious reasons, the legislation of the Church of England was virtually in the hands of the southern Convocation. That of York seldom originated any important measure, or persisted long in resisting the decisions of Canterbury. It became at length the faint echo of its more favoured sister's voice.

The Convocation of Canterbury consists of all the bishops of the province, who constitute the upper house; and of the deans,

archdeacons, proctors of chapters, and proctors for the parochial clergy, who compose the lower house. Before the dissolution of the monasteries, the abbots also had seats in the upper house; at which time the members were more numerous than those of the lower. At present, however, the upper house in the province of Canterbury consists of the bishops; the lower, of the dignitaries, who are ex-officio members, and the proctors.

The method of choosing the proctors for the clergy varies somewhat in different places. In the diocese of London, each archdeaconry choose two, and from the whole number so chosen, the bishop selects two to attend the Convocation. In Sarum, the three archdeacons choose six, and the six make a selection of two of their own number; and the same method is adopted in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry. In Bath and Wells, all the incumbents choose their proctors jointly. In Lincoln, the clergy of the six archdeaconries send commissioners to Stamford, who make the necessary choice of two persons. In Norwich, the two archdeaconries of Norwich and Norfolk meet and choose one, and the archdeaconries of Suffolk and Sudbury choose the other. The same is the case in Chichester. In ancient times the clergy were represented in convocation by the archdeacons. Such is the mode of choosing proctors in the province of Canterbury. In the province of York two proctors are returned by each archdeaconry. Were it not so, the numbers would be too small for the transaction of business.

The archbishop is president of the Convocation. A prolocutor is chosen by the clergy, who is presented to the archbishop. On his presentation he intimates that the lower house intend to deliver their resolutions to the upper house through him, whose duty it is also to collect the votes of his brethren, and to secure the attendance of the members.

As president, the archbishop summons the Convocation to meet at the command of the king. Were he to attempt to assemble a synod of his own authority, he would be subject to a præmunire, and the proceedings of such synod would be void. Since the Act of Submission, however, the power to summon the Convocation at the commencement of a new parliament has usually been granted; though, since the time of George I., no business has been transacted. It is also the duty of the archbishop

to prorogue and dissolve the Convocation under the direction of the crown.

The powers of Convocation are great. They have power to correct and depose offenders; to examine and censure heretical works; and, having obtained the royal license, they can make and publish canons, alter the liturgy, and in short transact all business of an ecclesiastical character. By statute the clergy are protected from arrest, just as the members of parliament, during their attendance on Convocation. Only rectors, vicars, and perpetual curates, can vote for proctors to represent the clergy in the lower house. The Convocation has not acted as a provincial synod since 1717, because the royal license has not been granted. As soon as the license is issued, a power is given to the Convocation which it did not previously possess, though assembled by royal writ. It is then a provincial synod, and competent to transact ecclesiastical business.

The lower house possessed a privilege which is scarcely consistent with the notion of the presbyter's duty of absolute submission to the bishop: they could always negative the proceedings of the upper house. Thus the clergy were at all times able to thwart the proceedings of the bishops; since when their assent was refused, no measure could be carried. The Convocation, lastly, though it cannot enact canons without the authority of the crown, can refuse its assent to measures proposed by the sovereign. As the matter now stands, it cannot meet without the royal writ, nor when assembled make canons without the royal license, nor publish them without the royal confirmation. The *writ* is always issued with that for assembling Parliament, but the *license* has been withheld since 1717. Thus the matter stands at present: we refer the reader for further information on this subject to our writers on ecclesiastical councils: *e. g.* Collier's Church History; Wilkin's Concilia; Wake, or Lathbury, on the Convocation.

The suppression of Convocation, though perhaps an arbitrary measure, was certainly followed by happy results. The clergy, no longer invited to take an active share in politics, were no longer factious. Slowly they returned to the proper studies of their profession, and resumed in consequence, though not all at once, a position they had almost lost in the respect and reverence of the laity. Philology and biblical criticism were cultivated.

The Commentaries of Whitby and the elder Lowth gave an impulse to these studies. Bishop Butler's 'Analogy,' followed, after a few years, by Bishop Newton's 'Dissertations on the Prophecies,' introduced the clergy to new studies, and taught them to think over a wider surface, and to reason to a greater depth. Writers such as we have named always call forth a number of imitative followers, who dilute their thoughts, and perhaps correct or even extend the application of some of their principles. These writers are a useful class to the age they live in: they abounded at the period of which we write, and, though now forgotten, they show that an age of thoughtful studiousness was once more returning, and as we place ourselves by their side, make us hopeful for the future. Still the clergy as a body were more distinguished, through the whole of the last century, for learning and decorum than for zeal and piety. Under the first and second Georges, the profligacy of the previous generation had been succeeded, in the higher classes, by an almost universal scepticism; in all classes by profound indifference to religion. From this stupor a degraded nation could not be aroused by the sermons of Sherlock, which were indeed a clear and masterly exposition of his text, but cold and cheerless. Nor by the writings of Butler, to the mass of readers unintelligible. Nor by the demonstrations of Bishop Newton, which required a patient industry they did not possess, and presupposed an intelligent interest upon a subject on which they were profoundly unconcerned.

The dawn of a brighter day appeared; and with it, John Wesley, his brother Charles, and their little band of *Methodists* at Oxford. We shall relate upon a future page (see WESLEYANS) the history of these remarkable men, their triumphs and their trials. When all around wore the icy mantle of a spiritual winter, the fervent zeal of these men drove them out to proclaim the saving truths of the gospel in every parish where they could find admission. They were young, and sometimes indiscreet, and the pulpits of the Church were very soon closed against them. They now appeared in their gowns and cassocks (for Wesley was at this period of his life a resolute Churchman) under the shade of a spreading oak, or on the village green, or during the winter in some friendly barn. The eloquent Whitfield soon joined their company,—a man whose voice was melody itself, whose

pathos, and powers of declamation seem to have been unrivalled. Before him the coldest melted into tears, and the churl begged money from his neighbour to throw a larger offering than his own purse contained upon the plate. Thousands in London and Bristol,—not unfrequently ten thousand,—assembled in one overflowing congregation to listen to their sermons. The churches were deserted, and, as a natural consequence, the clergy were displeased. Persecution began, and virtually Methodism became a new species of dissent. It was not only in the novelty and freedom of their career that the early Methodists had so vast an advantage over the parochial clergy. There was another cause. Scarcely anything was to be heard from the pulpit of the parish church but dry lessons of morality, relieved, when the sacrament was administered, with dissertations on sacramental grace. Wesley and his friends went forth to preach the gospel. His own acquaintance with human nature resembled an intuition. His followers imitated his style, and caught something of his spirit; and they all felt that it was not by the calm statement of duties, however important in their place, but by the earnest inculcation of the doctrines of salvation, that the hearts of their hearers could be reached. Ever since the Restoration, the prejudice against Calvinism in the Church of England had been such as might have satisfied Laud himself. In this prejudice the Wesleys shared deeply through life. Whitfield became a Calvinist, on which the two leaders were estranged, and parted for ever. The persecutions that Wesley encountered receive no excuse under this head. His irregularities were made the pretext; but the bishops, still, at this period, wiser, and more moderate than the clergy, had not thought it necessary to condemn them. The Church of Rome, in her deep sagacity, would have seized the opportunity, drawn Wesley into closer union, and made him the instrument of reviving a languishing cause. She would have made allowance for a zeal, which, if erratic, was fervent; for a loyalty to the Church, which, if self-willed, was perfectly sincere. We of this generation owe no gratitude to the age which cast forth the Methodists. We suffer still from the wrongs it inflicted on these righteous men.

From the year 1760, when the long reign of George III. began, religion may be considered as slowly advancing in the Church of England. Yet, more than twenty years later, we find Dr.

Horsley on the one side, and Low Churchmen, his opponents, on the other, still deploring "the great increase of profaneness and irreligion, and the indifference in all men for everything serious or sacred."—('Apology for the Liturgy and Clergy of the Church of England, 1785.') The difference at present was not more than this, that atheism and infidelity were less bold and systematic. But the study of divinity had almost ceased, and the attainments of the young clergy were of the most meagre kind. Shute Barrington, then bishop of Salisbury, a most respectable prelate, in a letter to his clergy in 1789, recommends to candidates for holy orders "a frequent perusal of the moral parts of both Testaments; with such works as Scott's 'Christian Life,' Mason on 'Self-Knowledge, and the Great Importance of a Religious Life.'" In the same year we find Archdeacon Paley recommending candidates for orders to study Taylor's 'Key to the Romans.' Taylor was an Arian minister amongst the Nonconformists. This was just a century after the Revolution. The nation had bounded forwards, during that period, in a wonderful career of wealth, power, and secular knowledge. But the standard of clerical literature, far from keeping pace, had actually stemmed the impetuous current of an advancing century, and gone backwards. It would be idle to speak of the theological sentiments of those whose training for the ministry consisted in the frequent perusal "of the moral parts of both Testaments," with the study of Mason on 'Self-Knowledge;' or of the orthodoxy of the disciples of Dr. Taylor, the Arian divine. It would be idle to inquire what influence men with such slender furniture could have with a generation who idolized the writings of Dr. Johnson and thrilled under the eloquence of Burke. Fervent piety might have made them respectable in a humble sphere, but under no circumstances could they have had much weight in England in 1789.

The latitudinarian divines still existed as a party, though their influence had greatly decreased. They were the movers in a project for the reformation of the liturgy, which excited no little interest about this period. "An association" of clergymen, gentlemen, and a few of the nobility, was formed. They met at the *Feathers Tavern*, and from hence their name. Professing to deplore the irreligion of the times, they would have applied a remedy worse than the disease. Nearly three hundred clergy-

re members of the association. They signed a petition
ng the excision of the damnatory clauses in the Athana-
ed, and the relief of their consciences in the matter of
tion; and with this no doubt many of them would have
isfied. But the laity went much further. In the war of
ets which this affair created, some of them spoke of the
ation, the doctrine of the Trinity, and the thirty-nine
with ridicule. When the matter was debated in the
f Commons, the doctrines of the Church of England were
with contempt. "I would gladly exchange all the
ine articles," said one of the speakers, "for a fortieth, of
he subject should be the peace of the Church!" The
of the Trinity was denounced by one of the writers of
ciation as "an imposition,—a deception of a much later
an Athanasius,—a deception, too, on which an article of
rested." The whole system of Christian doctrine, as
by the Church of England, was assailed. The same
ffirms, with a degree of effrontery that might well rouse
ignation of the clergy, "that certain parts in the public
and doctrine of the Church are acknowledged by every
an of learning and candour to be unscriptural and un-
l; no man of sense and learning can maintain them."
nts, submitted to the Association, &c., &c., by a Layman.

Bishop Horsley answered with force, but with the
ming asperity which defaces all his controversial writings.
ain, was met by Gilbert Wakefield, whose name, now
forgotten, was famous in this and many another contro-

efield, himself a clergyman, and the son of a clergyman,
the doctrines of the Church of England with scorn, and
himself a Socinian. Christianity with him was a pro-
science. We could interpret the Scriptures better than
ers, because we lived at a later day. "Will you be hardy
to assert," he exclaims with triumph, "that we of this
re not arrived at a better interpretation of the Scriptures
r ancestors at the Reformation? And what is the theo-
at is not founded on this interpretation, but priestcraft
dition? . . . Yes; fresh labour, fresh learning, fresh
ity, will lead succeeding generations to the solution of
ties insuperable to their predecessors; and the sun of

knowledge, I will be bold to prophecy, is but rising upon us, in comparison with the perfect day of our posterity." Of the liturgy he says, "I do not say that petty blemishes and errors disfigure the body of your liturgy, but it is deformed from the sole of the foot even unto the head with babbling repetitions, unscriptural formularies, unscriptural anathemas, and idolatrous invocations, unknown to the sons of God in former generations. I say and repeat it, idolatrous invocations." The worship of Christ is expressly included amongst these idolatrous invocations. "What a niggardly business do you make of revelation: only three persons in one God—a poor artist truly!" He boasts that these opinions were entertained by no small number of the clergy. But he was an intemperate writer, from whom such statements should be received with caution. He retired from the Church, and was attended in his secession by a few of the clergy.

In a different spirit Archdeacon Paley joined in the controversy, and published his 'Considerations on Subscriptions to the Articles.' He was (perhaps too painfully) conscious that his views were those only of a minority; and that the man who writes, as he expressed it, against a flourishing establishment writes with a halter round his neck. But if his views were those of any considerable number of the clergy, he certainly affords a lamentable proof how contemptuously they had broken loose from the restraints which their subscription was meant to impose. Bishop Watson too, of Llandaff, published, though anonymously, in 1790, 'Considerations of the Expediency of revising the Liturgy and Articles of the Church of England: by a consistent Protestant.'

Watson was a Socinian, and scarcely deigned to disguise his sentiments; but Paley was an earnest inquirer after truth, and lived to entertain far different views of Christian doctrine, and, we may add, of Christian morals, from those which he now expressed. He would have regarded the articles as terms of peace, and subscription as a negative act, binding the subscriber to respect rather than to defend them, and leaving his own private opinions open and unmolested. He protests against the injustice of framing articles in language more precise or stringent than the words of holy writ. The only use of confessions of faith is, he maintains, instruction; and this is not gained by any affectation of precision and metaphysical accuracy. All this, we conceive, admits of an easy answer. But one remark he makes to

which, we believe, no answer was attempted. "It is objected," he says, "to the articles of the Established Church that they are at variance with the actual opinions both of the governors and members of that Church; so much so, that the men who most faithfully and explicitly maintain these articles, get persecuted for their singularity, excluded from orders, driven from universities, and are compelled to preach the established religion in fields and conventicles." This was but too true.

There was indeed at this time, both amongst High and Low Churchmen, with few exceptions, a painful inconsistency between the doctrinal standards of the Church and their own divinity. Still, the remedies proposed by the clergy of the Feathers Tavern could not long satisfy men of honest minds. The subjects in debate are too momentous in their consequences—too nearly allied not only to the hopes and fears, but to the daily life and conduct, of Christians—to be thus lightly disposed of. To subscribe to the stupendous mysteries of the Christian faith with a doubt upon one's mind,—still more, to do this in order to obtain a living,—implies a laxity of principle for which no reproof is too severe. That the Church of England needed, and still needs reform, we must allow; and in no point more than in the article of subscription to the Book of Common Prayer;—a subscription the very meaning and extent of which is, while we trace these lines, once more the subject of public controversy. But it is well for England that the Feathers Tavern association was put down by the force of public opinion; for neither they nor their opponents were the men to be intrusted with the regeneration of the national Church.

Some advantages unquestionably arose from these discussions. To the cause of Church reform they were disastrous For fifty years, if a voice were heard, which was a rare occurrence, in favour of a revision of the liturgy or canons, it was silenced at once by a reference to the Feathers tavern. Never since the Church of England existed was the subject more unwelcome. The rashness of the association opened a gulf, in which even the most moderate schemes of reform perished. The advantages it conferred were reaped by its opponents. From this period a marked improvement in the theology of our clergy is evident. Their sermons wore less of the character of a moral essay. Evangelical truth by degrees reappeared in the pulpit. The standards

of the Church, and especially the homilies, were read. The scriptural proofs of the thirty-nine articles were much insisted on, especially by the bishops in their examinations; and above all the sacred volume was no longer a neglected book.

The eighteenth century closed amidst hopeful signs rather than any positive triumphs to the cause of religion. Compared with our present standard the bishops were still luxurious, and the clergy slothful; and a deadening tone of secularity pervaded the Church.

Still the clergy, during the forty years which had elapsed since George III. was crowned, had greatly improved. The high morality of his own court, the miseries of the French revolution, the humiliation which the whole nation felt on the loss of the American colonies, and the overwhelming struggle in which we were then engaged with France, all had conspired to bring the nation to a thoughtful state. Profaneness began to be discountenanced, a proclamation was issued against vice and profaneness, and it was no longer fashionable to boast of infidelity. The morals of the people and of the higher classes were low. Still there was improvement. Good men who could glance backward to the beginning of the reign, spoke of it with astonishment, and of the prospects of religion with an enthusiasm which, at this distance of time, we can hardly understand. During this century the increase of national wealth was incredible. The low state of religion at its close may be stated in the single fact that the proportion set apart for the promotion of religion was almost too small for computation. The only two societies in connection with the Church, raised each a few thousand pounds a-year by guinea subscriptions. Our colonies were already found in every quarter of the globe, but there were few colonial chaplains, and, except in Canada, not one colonial bishop. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel struggled to support here and there a catechist or a chaplain amongst our countrymen abroad; but for our heathen subjects, numbering hundreds of millions, no efforts whatever had been made. Not one missionary had yet been sent out* amongst the heathen. At home

* Perhaps the Danish mission at Tranquebar ought to be excepted. It was handed over by the king of Denmark at the beginning of the eighteenth century to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and by them transferred soon after to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. But the clergy employed in it were Danes, or Germans, and members of the Lutheran Church.

the same apathy prevailed. The vast increase of London had rendered an increase of churches necessary. In the reign of Anne an Act was passed for building fifty churches, but only twelve were erected. Down to the close of the century, while the population increased enormously, very few were added. Amongst the wealthier classes this grievous want was in some measure supplied by proprietary chapels; but from these the poor were excluded. No parishes were subdivided, no churches built for their use; they lived and died in fearful depravity and ignorance. In the provincial towns there was the same state of things. Birmingham had grown from a country village to a population of fifty thousand, and four churches had been built. Manchester had increased with equal rapidity, and had also gained three or four new churches in the century. Liverpool, fortunate in its wealthy corporation, was rather better supplied. But the erection of a church was a difficult and expensive matter, and seldom accomplished without an especial Act of Parliament. In almost every instance, the new church was unendowed, and the minister was dependent on his pew-rents. Two evils followed: it was seldom placed in a poor district, and it was always inaccessible to poor people. Thus stood the Church of England at the close of the eighteenth century.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, England was plunged in a war which continued with little intermission till it was closed by the battle of Waterloo in 1815. Yet even then the Church of England showed the beginnings of a renascent life. The Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East was formed, as the century began. Its beginnings were but small, though Porteous, bishop of London, and Barrington of Durham lent it their powerful sanction. It had existed ten years before its income exceeded ten thousand pounds. For the whole question of missions was new to the English people and girt with prejudice. The East India Company refused to admit any missionaries into our Indian territories, and it was not till their charter expired in 1814 that their opposition was broken down in Parliament. In 1840 the whole bench of bishops, with one exception, joined this institution. Its income for the year 1853 amounted to about one hundred and thirty thousand pounds. Its proceedings, like those of all our religious societies, are laid before the public in an annual report.

The Bible Society was formed soon after. Its object being simply to circulate the Scriptures, its constitution was not limited to members of the Church of England. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge is at present in a highly efficient state, and issues vast numbers of Bibles, Prayer-books, and religious tracts. The National Society was formed about 1809 for the education of the children of the poor in the principles of the Church of England. Dissenters, joined with churchmen, had just at the same time taken a similar step, and formed the British and Foreign School Society.

We have enumerated only a few of the leading societies; a vast number have since sprung up within the Church, or of a mixed character, or entirely beyond its pale; so many, indeed, that it has become a serious question, whether they do not, to some extent, impede each other, and whether a real service might not be rendered to the cause of Christian philanthropy by a reduction of their number. But the question which more immediately interests a historian of the Church of England is their influence on the constitution of the Church itself. They have wrought in this respect, and are still working, a silent revolution. The Convocation has long been in abeyance. These societies have, to some extent, assumed its functions. And their composition, and the manner in which their influence is felt, are points of considerable interest. Their utility is their justification. Our constitution, both in Church and State, instead of being modelled to an ideal theory, or after an antique form, has grown up in obedience to the same law which has created in the nineteenth century these novel spiritual jurisdictions. Its perfection arises out of this circumstance—that it is the development of a long succession of remedies for experienced evils. It is practical in its working, chiefly because it is not the result of theory so much as of hard experience. In these considerations the power, equally sudden and extensive, of our religious societies, will find its best apology. So long as it is well employed, it excites no jealousy; it is even regarded with approbation; for it meets a great emergency, against which no provision had been made. And, while the societies faithfully discharge their trust, we feel persuaded that the great bulk of churchmen would be sorry to see their influence diminished, however *irregular* that influence may be.

In 1818, the spiritual destitution of large towns engaged the

attention of the Government, and a grant of a million of money was easily obtained from Parliament for building churches; and when this sum was spent, a second grant of half a million followed. By this time, however, the temper of the House of Commons was somewhat changed. The old parish churches, it was said, had been built by the landlords, who found a sufficient motive in the spiritual benefits derived by their tenants and themselves, and a sufficient recompense in the possession of the patronage; the work of building churches should be left to private benevolence, and not made a charge upon the country. These arguments were heard by the best friends of the Church with feelings bordering on dismay; but thirty years' experience has shown that they were just. The million grant was opportune. It directed public attention to a subject hitherto neglected; and by providing a few stately churches (for the grant was sorely squandered in buildings of immense size, and, for the most part, in a style of architecture at once expensive and insipid), pointed out the want of more; and when it was seen that no further assistance could be looked for, at the public cost, patrons and parishes began to turn their attention to the subject, and to tax their own benevolence. A new era in the Church began, the nature and extent of which may be stated thus:—When the century opened, the number of churches in England was, probably, not one more than when the last of the Saxon kings expired on the field at Hastings. The distribution and the number of parishes was the same, with very few exceptions. Since that time, most of our parish churches had, indeed, been rebuilt, and, probably, enlarged, and many new churches erected in the cities and boroughs. But, on the other hand, many ancient towns had fallen into decay. Before the Reformation, many parish churches had already crumbled into ruins, and after that event, many magnificent churches, which formed part of conventual institutions, were barbarously destroyed. Scarcely an effort had been made to overtake the spiritual destitution of a population which had more than doubled itself since the Reformation; and the ravages of that era of ecclesiastical spoliation were not yet repaired. The parliamentary grants were exhausted in 1831, having called one hundred and thirty-four churches into existence. But the total number of churches erected in the present century, now amounts to about two thousand six

hundred; as a cost to private benefactors, and in addition to the parliamentary grants, of at least eleven millions, five hundred thousand pounds. To those who understand the English character, these facts, sordid as the reckoning may seem, will express, with impressive eloquence, how deeply seated is the Church of England in the affections of the nation, and how astonishing the zeal which has succeeded the languor of the eighteenth century.

The affairs of the Church during the last twenty years are too new for history. We have given in a separate article a sketch of the Anglo-Catholic or Tractarian movement; in which, however, we have confined ourselves nearly to statements gathered from their own documents. No mind is so calm and true—no spirit of man so deeply imbued with philosophical penetration, or so rich in wisdom—as to be able to assign to the occurrences of his own times their proper place, and to see them in their right dimensions; and the deeper his interest in them, the greater is the danger that he will exaggerate on the one side, or depreciate on the other. The present state of the Church of England, and the prospect which may lie before her, is a solemn—we may justly say—a sublime consideration; for it involves the fortunes of Christianity itself, and the religion of nations more numerous and more remote than those which were represented on the day of Pentecost. No institution since the world began—not the papacy in the summit of its pride—ever wielded such an influence as the Church of England now possesses. Her members, and especially her clergy, scarcely strike a note at home that is not listened to throughout the vast American republic, echoed in Canadian forests, repeated on the Ganges and the Indus, in burning Africa and in the countless islands and new-born continents of the southern seas. England multiplies herself, and establishes her hold upon the hearts of men, far beyond the limits of her colonies and her conquests, by her religion and her Church. These give the tone to millions who owe no allegiance to the mother-country, and who even, perhaps, dissent entirely from her episcopal communion.

It has been the fate of the Church of England from the beginning to be divided into parties. This is but, in another form, to say, that in doctrine she has avoided extreme opinions and that in practice she has been, compared with other Churches tolerant. Free opinion has had room to move. Her members

have recently been distributed, and the nomenclature seems to have taken root, into three great sections—High Church, Low Church, and Broad Church. Each of these has its subdivisions, and there are not a few zealous and fearless churchmen who protest against being classed with any party.

The High Church party, at the beginning of the century, possessed, with scarcely an exception, every post of emolument or honour. The universities were entirely under their control. The theological character of the Church was moulded in their hands; and under their management the Church had remained in a state of lethargy. The faults of this party were two. Their preaching was moral and didactic, rather than evangelical. Nor, as a body, did they maintain the high sanctity of the ministerial character. They were worldly-minded and eager of preferment, and, consequently, too obsequious to wealth and power. Yet they had great qualities. Many of the leaders were profoundly learned. During the reign of George III. they headed the scholarship of England, and, in many branches, its literature. There were shameful exceptions which seemed to court publicity; but, in general, they were men of pure lives, and in their homes they maintained a standard of morals far above that which prevailed in general society. Social life, after the two revolutions of America and France, passed through various forms. The time had arrived when every class of subjects began to be discussed by every class of men. A new infidelity was abroad; superficial, daring, insolent, and democratical. As far as argument went it was answered with a superfluity of evidence by Watson, Paley, and Porteus. The new infidelity assailed the Church in her most apathetic state, and was beaten and disgraced. But the clergy did not follow up their triumph. The very men whom they had convinced of the truth of revelation yawned and fell asleep beneath their sermons. They grievously wanted activity, and zeal, and courage. Thus, constantly falling behind the age in which they lived, the old High Church party was wearing out, when the Tractarian movement in 1833 breathed into them fresh life, and opened for them a new career.

The Low Church, or Evangelical, party of the present day must not be confounded with the Low Churchmen of Queen Anne. Entertaining the same principles on some points, on others they are in direct opposition to them. The Low Church-

men of the last century, as represented even by Tillotson, were charged by their opponents with latitudinarianism; by which term was meant, indifference to the doctrinal teaching of the New Testament, and a leaning to Socinianism. The accusation was not without some truth. They were, indeed, the first to introduce the cold moral essay in the place of the sermon, which the High Churchmen of a later age were contented to repeat. The Low Churchmen of the present day received that designation from their opponents; in the first instance, because they were said to be low in their views of Church discipline, and of the obedience which is due to the Church's authority. But, at the same time, they are charged, not with latitudinarianism, but its opposite, that is, Calvinism. Fifty years ago, the doctrines of salvation—we mean the atonement, the necessity of Divine grace, and the work of the Holy Spirit—were obsolete doctrines in the pulpit, and whoever preached them was immediately set down as a Calvinist. Horsley, bishop of Rochester, rebukes this clamour in one of his charges, in which he advises the clergy, with but little respect it must be owned for their attainments in divinity, "to be quite sure that they knew what Calvinism was before they ventured to decry it, lest," said he, "in opposing Calvin, you should chance to fall foul of our common Christianity."

The Evangelical party in the Church of England claims to represent, both in Church polity and doctrinal theology, the principles of the Reformation, as the Reformation was understood and practised, down to nearly the close of the reign of James I. Amongst them are to be found some who hold the Divine right of episcopacy and the necessity of an apostolical succession; but these are the exceptions. In general they maintain, rather, that episcopacy is a wise and ancient form of government than that it is essential to the constitution of a Church. They do not hesitate to recognize Presbyterian Churches, nor do they deny the claims of orthodox dissenters. Orders may be valid, though irregular, and Churches may be defective in many points and yet possess all that is essential to constitute a Church. The unity of a Church consists in the spiritual dependence and vital union which each member of it possesses with Christ, the Church's head. In doctrine, the Low Church party place justification by faith only in the foreground; they preach the total fall of man in Adam, and the necessity of the new birth; and they differ



om High Churchmen in asserting that this new birth, or
generation, does not of necessity take place in baptism, and
ey deny that it is inseparable from it. Of both the sacra-
ents, indeed, they hold that they do not necessarily convey
race; but only to those who partake of them aright. In their
inistrations the doctrines of redemption are made prominent.
hey have occasionally been charged with neglecting to inculcate
e ordinary duties of life; but Antinomianism, which would be
e result of such neglect, seldom makes its appearance in their
ocks. The party is often termed Calvinistic; but the word
not very accurately employed. Many are Evangelical
rminians, and not a few, who are content to accept the name
f Calvinists, hold, in fact, the disputed points nearly as
rminius held them. It is singular, perhaps, that amongst the
angelical clergy the writings of Calvin should be little read,
d, indeed, scarcely known. A society was formed within the
st few years for the publication of Calvin's works; it met with
ttle encouragement, and entailed, we have understood, a heavy
ss on its projectors. About the same time the Parker Society
as instituted, for republishing the divines of the English
eformation, and met with complete success.

The Low Church party are a minority in the Church of Eng-
nd. Of its wealthier benefices and posts of honour they fill
t few; but their influence is great. The manufacturing towns
e almost entirely in their hands. Their zeal in promoting
issions abroad, and plans for spiritual improvement at home,
e sufficiently attested by the fact, that their favourite societies
-the Church Missionary, and the Pastoral Aid Society, and
me others—are supported with a degree of liberality which
aces them at the head of all institutions of that kind in con-
exion with the Church of England. The severe contests of the
st twenty years with the Tractarian party have been highly
neficial to the evangelical clergy. They have made them feel
e necessity of theological learning, and especially of a deep and
curate acquaintance with the sacred writings, and with the
story and constitution of their own Church.

The Evangelical party, as now constituted, arose in the days
Hervey, Berridge, Romaine, Venn, and Simeon, in the last
ntury. The Broad Church party, of whom we have still to
eak, appeared scarcely ten years ago. It has hardly assumed



the coalescence of a party, but its influence is great already; and we must notice the infant struggles, though of comparatively a handful of resolute men, whose aim seems to be to impress a new character upon the Church of England.

Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, may be considered the founder of this school. Not that he designed to form a party, still less to lead one: but the character of his mind led him to detect the infirmities of existing institutions, while his courage and his dauntless love of truth compelled him to expose them. Dr. Arnold's pupils arrived at the universities just as the Tractarian movement was at its height. A few of them were dazzled and fell in with it at once. A much larger proportion set themselves to investigate the foundation of those claims they heard so constantly asserted on behalf of tradition and of priestly authority. In the presence of a powerful body, which claimed the absolute prostration of their judgment in deference to whatever Catholic antiquity had imposed, they naturally fell into the opposite extreme. Nothing was to be received without investigation; nothing was too sacred for discussion. The whole question of inspiration, of a providence, of the existence of a God, was debated anew. One or two Oxford men seemed to verge to atheism itself; but this extravagance passed over, and its abettors quitted the university. In a few years, however, a party was formed, which is rather known at present by its attacks upon the dogmas of its opponents than by its own fixed principles. It is equally opposed to the Evangelical and High Church parties.

Several leading writers and preachers of this the Broad Church party have been charged with Socinianism; with denying the true divinity of Christ, and, in the orthodox sense, his atonement. They, certainly, have spoken of man's natural goodness, and of his moral power, in a strain which is scarcely consistent with the doctrine of the corruption of human nature. But they deny the justice of these charges, and when thus accused declare that they have been misunderstood; and while there is much in their writings which it is difficult to reconcile with the doctrines of the Church of England, still it is right to give them the benefit of this disclaimer.

Such, with respect to parties, is the present state of the Church of England. There are various other subjects, more or less connected with the interests of these parties, by which we are at



this moment agitated. One of the chief of these is the revival of Convocation. This is warmly advocated by the High Church and Tractarian party, and as warmly opposed by the other sections of the Church. The reasons on both sides are obvious. Convocation, as legally constituted, would fairly represent the views of High Churchmen only. In the upper house their influence would preponderate. The lower house, consisting, in the Convocation of the province of Canterbury, of about one hundred and forty-six members, would not be accepted as a fair representation of above ten thousand clergymen. The laity would be entirely unrepresented, so would the Church of Ireland, and the English Colonial Church throughout the world; and yet the colonial bishops, being suffragans of Canterbury, would fall, with their dioceses, within its jurisdiction. The province of York has a separate Convocation, and it cannot safely be assumed that the two legislatures would work together. These are a few of the difficulties which surround the question.

We are compelled to pass over many subjects of importance, and hasten to a close. We shall conclude with a brief account of the constitution of the Church of England. There are at present, 11,728 benefices in England and Wales. This number includes the ancient parishes, and 1,255 ecclesiastical districts, or new parishes. The ministers of each of these are incumbents: rectors who receive the whole of the parochial tithe; vicars who receive only the small tithe, in those parishes in which the great tithe of wheat and grain were seized by Henry VIII., and is now possessed, as private property, by laymen, or in some cases by collegiate bodies; and, lastly, perpetual curates, the legal designation of the incumbents of the new district churches, and of a few ancient chapelries. They are supported by endowments, or, in many instances, simply by the rental of the pews; the incumbents are often assisted by stipendiary curates, who are not beneficed, and whose stipend the incumbent pays out of his own resources, or, of late years, by the aid of a grant from the Pastoral Aid Society, or the Additional Curates' Fund. The average income of the incumbents is about 270*l.* per annum; that of a curate varies from 80*l.* to 120*l.* In the southern counties almost every parish has its glebe or parsonage-house; but in the province of York this is rather the exception than the rule, especially in the large towns and recent districts. With the exception of

[redacted] new cures in the case of new churches the Church of England is [redacted] property—property of a more ancient [redacted] existing in England. The tithe was granted [redacted] before the Norman conquest: the glebe lands are, for the [redacted] title to which records are preserved to show [redacted] Church. A Commission was [redacted] inquire into the amount and distribution of the [redacted] revenues. They reported thus:—

	£.
[redacted]	151,631
[redacted]	360,095
[redacted]	3,251,159
[redacted]	500,000
Total annual revenue	£4,292,585

When the Commission was issued in 1830, many abuses existed which, mainly in consequence of its report, have since been removed. It was a common thing for a clergyman to hold two or three livings with perhaps the addition of cathedral preferment. These pluralities were a grievance of ancient date; they were found in the Anglo-Saxon Church, and went on increasing till the Reformation. No effectual stop was then put to them; and during the last century the evil had again increased. Many of the bishops held livings *in commendam*; the bishop of one diocese was often the dean of another cathedral, or the rector of a remote parish. All this is done away by statute law. No clergyman can hold more than one living with cure of souls. The incomes of the bishoprics, then very unequal, have been adjusted, and profess to average from 4000*l.* to 5000*l.*: Durham, London, and Winchester, and the two archbishoprics, are more liberally endowed; the see of Canterbury is 15,000*l.* a-year. But the present disposition of cathedral property is far from giving general satisfaction; it is the subject of constant discussion in the House of Commons, and will probably soon be dealt with in a decided manner, and made more subservient than it has hitherto been to the interests of religion.

The church-rate is a tax which the parishioners only, legally assembled at a parish vestry, summoned for that purpose, can impose upon themselves. In the neglect into which the Church had fallen at the beginning of the century, it was often profusely

squandered, and became, in consequence, unpopular, especially where dissent prevailed. In Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham, it is no longer collected; and the legislature has expressed some hope of being able to place it upon a better footing. The uses to which a church-rate can be legally applied are simply these two: the preservation of the fabric of the church, and the necessary expenses of public worship. But the law is extremely tenacious on both points: the sustentation of the edifice does not include its decoration or enlargement; and the necessary expenses of public worship will not cover the salary of an organist, or even of a parish clerk, much less the luxury of stoves. Within these limits the impost would have been scarcely felt; it is of high antiquity, and existed in the Anglo-Saxon Church.

The constitution of the Church of England is episcopal; but during its long and vigorous existence it has received some peculiar features from every successive age. Most of the bishoprics, as they now exist, were founded in early British or in Saxon times, and the boundaries of some of them still show the limits of a kingdom of the heptarchy. Seven were created by Henry VIII., on the ruins of suppressed abbeys, and endowed with the confiscated property; two others, Manchester and Ripon, were created by Act of Parliament in 1837. There are twenty-five bishops for England and Wales, who are barons of the realm, and sit in the House of Lords, and the bishop of the Isle of Man, who has no seat, or rather, has a complimentary seat and title, but may not vote; over these the two archbishops preside. The colonial Church is placed beneath the care of the archbishop of Canterbury. Spiritually, the archbishops are on a level with their episcopal brethren, *primi inter pares;* they exercise no spiritual powers except what are common to every bishop. They consecrate their suffragan bishops, assisted by some of the episcopal body. The duty of the bishops is to govern the Church, each within his respective diocese, and to examine and ordain those who may be appointed to vacant cures within it. In the Church of England bishops only administer the rite of confirmation. Every cathedral church has its dean and chapter, corresponding to the rector and curates of a large parish: these offices are much coveted as posts of honour and emolument. Originally, the dean and chapter were the bishop's council; but this is no longer the case: they have no right to interfere with advice in

matters not connected with their own cathedral, nor can the bishop claim their assistance, and divide his responsibilities with them. Except as a reward of learning, or a retreat for worn-out zeal, these capitular bodies have at present no practical value.

The bishop is assisted by his archdeacons, chancellor, and rural deans. The office of the former is of high antiquity amongst us: it existed among the Anglo-Saxons, but with this difference, that the archdeacon, who now rules, under the bishop a territorial section of the diocese, was then only a member of the cathedral body. There are several archdeaconries in each diocese; their total number is seventy-one. The archdeacon is a clergyman of the cathedral, and generally possesses a benefice in the diocese besides. There is, perhaps, no officer in the Church of England whom the clergy regard with more respect, or whose post is really more important. The limits of his archdeaconry are not so great as to make his work oppressive; he cultivates a friendly intercourse with the clergy, and is acquainted with them individually. He is appointed by the bishop, whose interest it is to choose for his archdeacons those who possess already the confidence of his diocese. His preferment is not such as to place him at too great a distance from his brethren; nor need he embroil himself in those political contentions from which his bishop, a member of the legislature, cannot always escape. Practically the archdeacon is a petty bishop. A thousand important questions which must otherwise be brought before their diocesan by the clergy, are easily adjusted by the archdeacon. And in cases of difficulty, he becomes the medium of communication between the parochial clergy and their bishop. The churchwardens are placed beneath his control. Once a year he makes a visitation, to which they are summoned; he then administers to them a declaration (by which the former oath of office has been recently superseded) which they subscribe, engaging to discharge their duties lawfully; they make their presentations, or formal complaints, of whatever they conceive to be amiss in their parishes, or in the conduct of their clergy, and they receive his instructions. For these purposes the archdeacon presides in his ecclesiastical court, in which, generally speaking, the churchwardens' business of every kind is arranged and finally determined. Of late years the archdeacons have summoned the



clergy to these visitations, and delivered a formal charge, in which they enter upon the theological questions of the day.

The chancellor of the diocese is its ecclesiastical judge, appointed by the bishop. It is not necessary that he should be in orders, but he must be "one that is learned in civil and ecclesiastical laws, and reasonably well practised in the course thereof." We cannot profess to give the faintest outline of the business which belongs to these ecclesiastical courts, and to the Court of Arches to which, as their superior, appeals may lie. We must be satisfied to mention that all the ecclesiastical courts are governed by canon law; but the canon law, is cumbrous and impracticable; and Acts of Parliament are made in every session in the vain attempt to fit an antiquated Italian code for a free people and a Protestant Church in the nineteenth century. Greatly will that man be honoured who shall undertake and execute the gigantic task of preparing a code of spiritual law, scriptural, simple, inexpensive, which shall meet the wants, and command the respect, of the Church of England. All the ecclesiastical courts are subject to the sovereign, who may summon to his aid a judicial committee of the privy council. By this court, the decisions of the Court of Arches were lately overruled, in the case of Gorham *versus* the Bishop of Exeter.

The rural dean, though invariably a clergyman beneficed in his own deanery, is now a secular officer whose chief business is to inspect the parish churches and report to the archdeacon or bishop, if they fall into decay. Originally the proper office of a rural dean was the inspection of the lives and manners of the clergy and people within their district, in order to report them to the bishop. He holds no court, nor is the office judicial. Still it is found very useful; and rural deaneries of late years have been introduced, or revived, in some of the northern dioceses where they did not previously exist.

After all, the strength of the Church of England lies not so much in the wealth of her endowments, in her ancient associations, or her well-ordered constitution, as in the piety, zeal, and wisdom of her episcopate and her parochial clergy. To them it is intrusted, to no small extent, to mould the national character. The education of the higher classes, the management of the public schools and of the ancient universities, is entirely in their hands. From week to week, in nearly fifteen thousand

public assemblies, they are heard in silence; and with a strong predisposition in their hearers to receive their statements as faithful expositions of the word of God; and the results, though far short of what should have been accomplished, are not altogether disproportionate even to a machinery so vast. If the reader would really ascertain what is the amount of good effected by the parochial clergy, let him propose the question to himself in another form; let him ask himself, what would be the state of England, not in three centuries, but in the lapse of as many weeks, if the clergy were silenced, if the churches were closed, if the parish school were deserted by the minister and his family, if his household ministrations and domestic example were withdrawn, if the charities, of which he is the soul and mainspring, lost his assistance, if the fountain of theological literature, fed in every shape by the incessant contributions of a regularly-educated clergy, suddenly dried up? Let him calmly put the question to himself, what would there be left in England worth preserving, whether of domestic purity in humbler life, or of high virtue and integrity, to say nothing of religion, in any rank? How far could voluntary churches supply the dismal void? These considerations may lead the reader, as they have led thousands, whether churchmen or pious dissenters, devoutly to thank God for the preservation of the Church of England.

On the question of patronage, a subject by which almost every Protestant church in Christendom has been at one time or other disturbed or driven to the brink of ruin, the Church of England is not without her perplexities. Her theory is this:—the patron represents the original founder of the church. In return for so great a benefit conferred upon the parish, he who built and endowed a church, was intrusted with the choice of his own minister in perpetuity; he became, in other words, the patron of the living. In a few instances this right is still vested in the descendants of the original patron, but these must be rare. The right of patronage is now a saleable commodity, transferred, or sold by auction, to the highest bidder, like any other real property; and the patronage of the Church of England is consequently dispersed wherever wealth has found its way: 1,144 benefices are in the gift of the crown; 1853 in that of the bishops; 938 in that of cathedral chapters and other dignitaries; 770 in that of the universities and collegiate bodies;

)2 in private persons, and 931 (vicarages or perpetual cura-
) in the incumbent of the mother-church. The good and
of this system are so nearly balanced, that thoughtful and
3 men are to be met with every day, who, as they look at the
)urable or dark side of the question, are disposed to cherish it
he nearest approach that is ever likely to be made in practice
, perfect theory; or, on the other hand, to reject it as unjust
full of danger. Its evils lie upon the surface, and they are
no means slight. It has a tendency to promote a subservient
it, inconsistent with the courage and simplicity of the Chris-
i minister, towards those in whose hands patronage is vested,
upon them advancement in the Church depends. It ex-
les many valuable men from livings of importance, and
1sts many incompetent men into stations for which they are
meanly qualified. It fills our choicest parishes with men
ıer well bred than deeply learned—men of courtesy and bene-
)nce rather than a fervent zeal; and consequently the parish
rch wears to the poor man too frequently something of a
l and aristocratic air. He is spoken to by his superior in the
3ence of his superiors, and he retires to the dissenting chapel,
that he prefers dissent, but that he meets with sympathy and
s himself at home. Patronage is either held by individuals
'ested in corporations or in trustees; but the individual may
e little sense of religion, he may give away his church on
siderations of friendship, or he may look upon it merely
a provision for a younger son. Corporate bodies have less
3cience than individuals. Previous to the Act for reforming
nicipal Corporations, twenty years ago, most of the livings in
ancient towns and boroughs were in the gift of our municipal
)orations. Their appointments, on an average, were certainly
better than those of private patrons; religion slumbered in
great towns not less profoundly than in our country villages.
eral trusts have been formed of late years for the purchase of
owsons (an advowson is the right of presentation in perpe-
y), and none can deny them at least the praise of pure disin-
stedness. They have expended large sums to obtain in return
right of placing zealous ministers, of evangelical principles,
)opulous places. But all these various methods of patronage
)ur under the same defect—the congregation whose spiritual
:rests are to be committed to the new pastor, and the parish-

ioners amongst whom, as their friend or their example, he is to live and die, have no voice whatever in the momentous choice. The party most interested looks on with indifference, or hope, or silent resignation. The English lay churchman, in the most important event that can affect his parish during his life-time, finds everything done for him—it is only on trifling matters that he is consulted. He may help to build the school, he may discharge the duties of churchwarden, but with regard to the appointment of the minister he has no right to speak.

On the other hand, the system is better in practice than in theory, and it has even some peculiar advantages. In the first place, the variety of patrons and of patronage is productive of much good. The national Church of a great and free people can only exist when it is wide and comprehensive. It must either reflect the general character of the nation, or become the Church of a mere section, and then its ruin follows. Now, under the present system, every variety of orthodox sentiment is represented in the Church of England: we say of orthodox sentiment, because the patron can, in the first place, only nominate to his vacant living one who has twice passed the ordeal of the bishop's examination, first for deacon's and secondly for priest's orders. He cannot obtrude a layman on the bishop; he can only select one out of an order of men all of whom have been pronounced competent for the ministry, and are actually engaged in it. Neither is his nomination final; he "presents his clerk" to the bishop, the bishop institutes him. The cases are extremely rare, it is true, but there are not wanting instances in which the bishops have refused to institute the clerk on the ground of his incompetency or unsoundness. The patrons again are to be found in every class and every profession. Bishops, peers, soldiers, citizens, country gentlemen, and clergymen. Their interests, on the whole, are those of their parishes. Their sense of religion may be assumed to be as deep as that of most other men; and it must be much less so if a solemn conviction of the importance of acting as in the sight of God, did not in some measure influence their minds. And if the present system of patronage were abolished, can a better be substituted in its stead? Would it be safe, for instance, to trust the parish, in every instance, with a veto, or with the absolute right of election? Could any system do more than is now accomplished? Popular election might encourage ready and

declamatory men of popular talents; would it promote, in fair proportions, men of quiet thought and unpopular learning, or of a really deeper tone of piety? No system can make efficient ministers. The present law of patronage dooms many who deserve a far different lot to poverty and an obscure post, but it silences none: the Church still has the benefit of their services. The most popular system could but make use of the materials which it finds existing: in short, the improvement which the Church needs is to be sought more in the improvement of the clergy themselves in learning, zeal, and holiness, than in any essential changes that could possibly be effected in the law of patronage.

By an Act of Parliament of 1834 a new kind of patronage has been introduced, which is, to some extent, a compromise between the ancient system of patronage in private hands and a free election by the parish or congregation. It permits any body of subscribers to erect a church, and if it be endowed with at least a thousand pounds, to claim the patronage, which they must vest in not less than three, nor more than five trustees, elected by themselves. These trustees become the patrons, and they fill up their own vacancies. If the parishioners of the new church were allowed themselves to fill up the vacancies as the trustees die off, this mode of election would perhaps become sufficiently popular to satisfy the demands of most of those who argue in favour of the parish choosing its own ministers, while it would avoid the evils which seem to be inseparable from all popular elections in sacred things. As it now stands, however, this Act is exceedingly beneficial. Of the new churches lately built a very large proportion are placed beneath its operation; and in almost every instance which has come under our knowledge, the minister thus chosen by trustees is acceptable to the people. It is extremely difficult at present to obtain subscriptions from the public towards the erection of any church where the patronage is not thus vested in trustees.

The authorities for the foregoing article are far too numerous to be recited. The principal *facts*, however, are to be met with in the following writers:—

1. Period ending at the Reformation.—*The History of Ingulph*, which contains the laws of William the Conqueror and the settlement of the English Church on the ruins of the Anglo-Saxon; *The History of Gaimar*; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, to the death of Stephen, 1154; *The Chronicle of Florence of Worcester*. (The above are reprinted in 'The Church Historians of England,' London, 1853); *The Life of*

John Wycliffe, by Le Bas: *Foxe's Acts and Monuments*; *Fuller's Church History*, and documents in the notes to Oxford edition.

2. Reformation to the Commonwealth:—*Heylin's History of the Reformation*; *Burnet's History of the Reformation*, and especially 'The Collection of Records and Original Papers' published in the Appendix; *Lives and Works of the Reformers*, published by the Parker Society, especially those of Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, and *The Zurich Letters*, in 2 vols.; *Paul's Life of Archbishop Whitgift*; *Brook's Life of Cartwright*; *Walton's Life of Hooker*, and *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity*; *Neal's History of the Puritans*.

3. From the Commonwealth to the year 1688:—*Lord Clarendon's History of the Great Rebellion*; *Heylin's Life of Laud*; *D'Ewes's Journal*; *Whitelock's ditto*; *Speeches in this Great and Happy Parliament*, 1642 (the overthrow of episcopacy); *The Ordinances of the House of Commons*, 1640–50; *Hetherington's History of the Westminster Assembly*; *Life and Works of Bishops Jeremy Taylor, Sanderson, and Bull*; *Ditto of Richard Baxter*, especially his *Autobiography, published by Silvester*; *Bishop Short's History of the Church of England*; *Carwithen's ditto*.

4. From 1688 to the accession of George III. in 1760:—*Burnet's History of his own Times*; *Lives of Tillotson and Sancroft*; *Lathbury's History of Convocation*; *Ditto of the Nonjurors*; *Sermons*, *Tracts*, and *Pamphlets* of the day on religious questions; particularly the Revolution settlement; Sacheverell and Hoadley's affair; Convocation, &c., &c.; *Life and Writings of Bishops Butler, Atterbury, Newton, Bull, Dr. Sherlock*, and others.

5. From 1760 to the present time, the history of the Church of England is that of the literature, religion, and politics of England, and is only to be learned by an extensive acquaintance with our best writers on those subjects. For the *statistics* of the Church at the present time we are partly indebted to the Census of 1852.

FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.—This powerful body was formed by an act of secession from the Kirk or National Church of Scotland in 1843. In its articles of faith, its mode of worship, or even its ecclesiastical constitution, it differs from the mother-church in no respect whatever. It retains the Westminster Confession and the Assembly's Catechism; and wherever it obtains a footing proceeds to establish the forms and discipline of the ancient Kirk. Nor has it seceded in consequence of any misgivings with regard to the connection of Church and State, or from any unwillingness to share the endowments which the State confers, but solely, to use its own language, because the State through its Parliament, and the decrees of its civil courts, had essentially changed the conditions under which the establishment had hitherto acted.

This painful difference, which has rent in twain the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and ended in the secession of nearly half her clergy, and a large proportion of the Scotch nation, arose upon a single question, namely, the right of patrons.



Ever since the union, a large party in Scotland had felt aggrieved. The patrons claimed the right of intruding their own nominees; the parishioners claimed a veto; and the two parties, intrusionists and non-intrusionists, were arrayed against each other. At last, the non-intrusionists retired and formed the Free Church of Scotland.

We must take a rapid survey of the history of this question, without which it is impossible to understand the position of the Free Church. One circumstance we must mention at the outset, which, had it always been borne in mind, would have simplified the point at issue to English minds, and removed some prejudices both from Scotch and English students of the question. It is this—a Scotch patron, if he claims the absolute right of appointing a minister to his vacant living, claims that which no English patron possesses. The difference is this—in England the patron can only appoint a clerk in priest's orders; that is, one whom the bishops have pronounced, after examination, competent to the ministry, and who is, in the fullest sense, an ordained presbyter. But in the Church of Scotland, ordination does not precede, but follows, the appointment to a living. The *probationer* whom the patron names is a youth on trial. He must obtain a parish, or pastoral charge, before he can be ordained. It is unnecessary to explain in how many ways this adds to the patron's power, and how much it deepens the anxieties of the parishioners. The English clergyman, when presented to a living, has been at least two years a curate; his character and abilities are known; and his principles have been tried. In Scotland the probationer, beyond his university career, is untried; and his fitness for the post to which he is appointed, must always be a matter of some anxiety. Besides, the bishop in England has a veto, which, as in the Gorham case, is sometimes though seldom exercised. In the Gorham case the Bishop of Exeter refused to institute the patron's nominee on the charge of unsound doctrine. His decision was overruled by the Queen in Council it is true; but not because he had used a power which did not belong to him, but because his objections to Mr. Gorham were decided to be untenable. This explanation will show to English readers, the importance of the point at issue in Scotland; and it may explain to Scotchmen something of the apparent indifference with which England has regarded their unhappy

quarrel. South of the Tweed, in short, the subject is very little understood. But we must trace its history.

The Church of Scotland has always been extremely tenacious of State interference. It has considered not only that the independence of the Church was compromised, but that its purity was affected, whenever it submitted to secular authority. Christ is the sole head of the Church: in whatever degree the interference of the State is permitted, to the same extent are the rights of Christ denied. "And what then," says Dr. Buchanan, the historian of the Free Church, "was the real nature of the question which gave rise to the ecclesiastical convulsion of 1843? It was a religious question; the question of Christ's sole headship, and supremacy over his body, the Church. From the very outset it had its root in that fundamental doctrine, and in the end it was upon that doctrine the entire controversy turned." This principle does not interfere with the question of Church establishments. The State may claim control over an unestablished Church; it may leave an established one, independent. The ground that the Church has received a civil establishment is by no means the only one on which the State may assail her spiritual freedom; nor will the simple renunciation of such an establishment always suffice to protect her from the encroachments of the civil power. The Church is only safe when the State can be brought to recognise those principles which are essential to her. The plea of all states for invading the rights of the Church is that there can be no imperium in imperio; to which the answer is, that the Church is not an imperium in imperio which can give the State a right to control it. The imperium of the Church is over a different and distinct province from that which belongs to the imperium of the State. It is no rival power. Its field is conscience, that of the State is person and property. The one deals with spiritual, the other with temporal things. And there is therefore not only no need, but no possibility of collision between them, unless the one intrude into the other's domain. That this controversy about the doctrine of Christ's headship has been so little heard of out of Scotland is explained, according to Dr. Buchanan, by the fact, that by none of the Reformed Churches out of Scotland was the doctrine thoroughly investigated, or the attempt ever made to bring it to bear practically upon the framing of their constitu-



tion, or the administering of their affairs. The English Reformers are considered highly blamable for consenting to the supremacy of the State; and Switzerland and Germany, it is said, have changed the pope's supremacy for an Erastian despotism —the despotism of the civil power. In France the Protestants never gained sufficient power to try the question. Thus, in Scotland, the Reformation assumed certain peculiarities by which other Reformed Churches are not so strongly marked; and of these the most striking is the jealousy with which it guards against the interference of the State. Such are the statements of the Free Church advocates.

The laws of patronage in Scotland display this spirit of independence in a strong light. By an Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1567, "anent the admission of them which shall be presented to benefices," it is ordained "that the examination and admission of ministers shall be only in the power of the Kirk:" and the patron seems to have been left with no other power than that of simply recommending a candidate. He may appeal to the superintendent and ministers of that province where the benefice lies, and desire the person presented to be admitted. If they refuse, an appeal is to be made to the General Assembly of the whole realm, "by whom the cause being decided shall take end as they decern (decree) and declare." It does not appear, from this Act, whether the patron might again present, or how often he might repeat his nomination of an unsuccessful candidate; or whether the Assembly, when a difference of this kind occurred, filled up the vacant living; probably this, however, was the case. When this Act was passed, of all the parochial benefices of Scotland, amounting to nearly a thousand, three-fourths were in the hands of ecclesiastical patrons; and only two hundred and sixty-two, to whom this Act applied, in the hands of laymen. As the Reformation advanced, the greater benefices, which had been connected with religious houses, were erected into temporal lordships. These were bestowed upon private individuals, who, under the name of titulars or lords of erection, became the patrons of the parochial benefices. These patronages were all along complained of by the Church party as unjust and indeed illegal. Still the patronage seems, in fact, to have remained with the people. "The First Book of Discipline" expressly declares that it appertaineth to

the people and to every several congregation to elect their minister. And the "Second Book of Discipline," A. D. 1578, condemns lay patronage as "having flowed from the pope, and corruption of the canon laws; in so far as thereby any person was intruded or placed over churches having cure of souls" "This manner of proceeding," it says, "has no ground in the word of God, but is contrary to the same, and ought not to be permitted." These laws, whether of the Church or Parliament, were of course distasteful to the court and the nobility; and several Acts were passed, in 1584, which, for a time, deprived the Kirk of its liberty and independence. These transferred the spiritual supremacy to the crown, and annulled all spiritual jurisdictions which were not sanctioned by the king and Parliament. One of these Acts re-established prelacy. All of them were received with abhorrence by the people, and were repealed soon after, namely, in 1592. They are generally termed in Scotland the Black Acts. In this settlement of 1592 the king's supremacy was explained to be conceded only so as to be in no way prejudicial to the independence of the Church; and, with regard to patronage, the presbyteries were directed to ordain all presentations according to the discipline of the Kirk; but they were to ordain and admit only those who being duly qualified were presented by the lawful patrons. In the recent struggle this clause was claimed by both parties; by the patrons, who insisted that it obliged the presbytery to accept the patron's nominee; by the Free Church party, who insisted that it obliged the presbytery to do nothing inconsistent with the discipline of the Kirk as established by the Act of 1567.

It is unnecessary to pursue the history during the period which elapsed till the revolution of 1688. Events of great importance occurred, but they are related in the history of the Scottish Church; and the question of patronage was held by the Presbyterians (for several attempts were made to supersede the ancient Church by the introduction of prelacy) to remain in the state in which it was left by the Act of 1592. On the accession of William III., after the revolution, it was therefore necessary to reassert once more the principles and rights of the ancient Kirk. This was done by the abolition of episcopacy in 1689, and the restoration of the Presbyterian clergy to the livings from which they had been ejected. By an Act of 1690, the Westminster

Confession of Faith was engrossed *verbatim* in the statute-book, and thus made part and parcel of the law of Scotland. Above all, the Act "concerning patronage," of 1592, was re-enacted, with this remarkable exception—that the restricting clause, whatever its force might have been, was now expunged, and in its stead a clause was introduced in the following terms:—"In case of the vacancy of any particular church, and for supplying the same with a minister, the heritors of the said parish, being Protestants, and the elders, are to name and propose the person to the whole congregation, to be either approven or disapproven; and if they disapprove, that the disapprovers give in their reasons, to the effect the affair be cognosced upon by the Presbytery of the bounds, at whose judgment, and by whose determination, the calling and entry of a particular minister is to be ordered and concluded." It appears to us that the interpretation thus affixed to a doubtful clause irritated the patrons, who considered, no doubt, that it deprived them of their just rights; indeed, it seems to have superseded them altogether; and we are not surprised to find that they seized the earliest opportunity of once more fighting the battle which at the revolution they seemed to have lost.

The union of the two crowns was effected in 1707. One of the conditions on which the Scottish Parliament assented to the measure was, that the worship, discipline, and government of the Church should be effectually and unalterably secured. These conditions were accepted by the English Parliament, and became the basis on which the union, as regards the Kirk of Scotland, was effected. Yet in 1711 an Act was passed from which the recent convulsions and the existence of the Free Church take their origin. It was "an Act restoring patronage." It repealed the Act of 1690, in so far as the same relates to the presentation of ministers by heritors and others, and declares, that "from and after the 1st day of May, 1712, it shall and may be lawful for her Majesty, her heirs, and successors, and for every other person or persons who have any right to patronage or patronages of any church or churches whatever, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, to present a qualified minister or ministers to any church or churches whereof they are patrons." Bishop Burnet, who was himself of a Scotch family, and well acquainted with all the chief actors in the business, says that this bill was passed



"merely to spite the Presbyterians, who, from the beginning, had set it up as a principle that parishes had, from warrants in Scripture, a right to choose their ministers." Sir Walter Scott seems to have taken a similar view of the matter. "The Act," he says, "which restored to patrons the right of presenting clergymen to vacant churches, was designed to render the churchmen more dependent on the aristocracy, and to separate them in some degree from their congregations, who could not be supposed to be equally attached to, or influenced by, a minister who held his living by the gift of a great man, as by one who was chosen by their own free voice." The decision of the British House of Commons was received in Scotland with much dissatisfaction. Commissioners were sent by the Assembly to remonstrate before the House of Lords, and were heard by counsel at the bar. But the Presbyterian party appears to have been weak in both houses. The bill was passed in the Lower House by 178 votes to 76, and in the Lords almost without discussion. Whatever the merits of the bill itself, there is but too much truth in the following reflections of Dr. Buchanan:—"Many, in all probability, of the English members of the legislature neither knew nor cared much about the matter. In 1711 national prejudices in the south were particularly strong, and were, no doubt, easily enlisted by the Government of the day in favour of any scheme that promised to spite the Presbyterians of Scotland."

Attempts were made by the Assembly, from time to time, to obtain the repeal of the measure, but without success. Still, it was so unpopular that, for some years, patrons were afraid to use the power invested in them; contenting themselves with using such private influence as their position gave them to procure a call for (that is, to induce the parish to invite) the individual whom they might wish to nominate. "Competing calls" were of frequent occurrence, and the patron's nominee was by no means in general the successful candidate. It was not till 1720 that a patron ventured to assert his right of patronage in the face of the opposition of the congregation. The patron in this instance failed. The first instance of a minister settled against the will of the people appears to have taken place at Aberdeen, in 1725. But for fifty years after the Act of 1711 the Church frequently enforced the non-intrusion principle; pronouncing judgments in her courts which show, either that she refused to re-



cognise the Act of Queen Anne, or else that, in her view of it, it did not really interpose any legal obstacle to the full exercise of her own discretion. She still decided for herself, in these instances at least, under what circumstances she would ordain any man to the office of the sacred ministry, or induct him in a cure of souls. By degrees, however, the rights of patrons became more absolute; and it was decided in the courts of law by lord Kaimes, lord Monboddo, and other great legal authorities, that the right of the stipend being a civil right, the ecclesiastical power might settle the minister in the parish, but they could not secure him the stipend. "It would be a great defect," said the former, "in the constitution of a government that ecclesiastical courts should have an arbitrary power in providing parishes with ministers. To prevent such arbitrary power, the check provided by law is, that a minister settled illegally shall not be entitled to the stipend. This happily reconciles two things commonly opposite. The check is extremely mild, and yet is fully effectual to prevent the abuse."

But about the middle of the last century a large party—the Moderates—sprang up, who had, in truth, very little respect either for the ancient creed of the Scottish Church or its ancient discipline, and who became the devoted allies of the patrons. Both parties had hitherto admitted the constitutional necessity of a call from the parish as a foundation of the pastoral relation. It was the policy of the Moderate party to make this call a mere form, and practically of no importance. They began by holding that the call of heritors and elders was sufficient; and these being few in number, and often influenced by the patron, were easily dealt with. Next they maintained that any call, if signed by a few of the parishioners, would serve the purpose; and this the patron could always procure. Thus, towards the close of the century, the rights of patrons had become absolute in Scotland; but the victory cost many a fight, and more than one large secession. Sometimes the intruding minister was carried over the heads of a reclaiming congregation by the help of a band of soldiers, and thus instituted in his pastoral care. This occurred in the instance of Mr. Syme of Alloa; he was the brother-in-law of Robertson the historian, the leader of the Moderate party, and grandfather of the present lord Brougham. But these were disastrous victories. An overture, presented to

the General Assembly, in 1768, by the minority of that house, [illegible] that the progress of schism in the Church was already alarming; that more than one hundred meeting-houses had been erected; that the seceders amounted to more than one hundred thousand; and that the effects of this schism were beginning to appear, and likely to take root, in the most populous towns. The interests of the country and the peace of the Church were threatened. But the claims of the patrons seem at length to have been urged by Dr. Robertson and the majority of the Assembly with a rigour with which the civil courts would scarcely keep pace. It was even moved in 1782 to set aside the call altogether; but the Assembly declared, by a majority, that it was agreeable to the immemorial and constitutional practice of the Church, and ought to be continued. Thus the practice of the Church of Scotland was, all must confess, in strange contrast with her principles; and the administration of ecclesiastical affairs was conducted upon a system both unconstitutional and disingenuous. The forms prescribed were studiously observed with ostentatious seriousness, while their spirit was as openly defied. The pastoral relation was still based professedly on the call of the congregation. "The paper called a call," as the Moderate party in derision termed it, was still produced at every ordination. In solemn terms it invited the presentee, in the name of the parishioners, to take the oversight of the flock, engaging on their part to render him "all due obedience in the Lord." On the day of ordination it was placed in his hands; and the question was solemnly proposed to him by the presbytery as heretofore, "Whether he closed with this call, and engaged in the strength of the Lord faithfully to do the work of the ministry among that people?" It was possible enough, and indeed it happened not unfrequently, that the congregation at the moment of this solemn farce, instead of calling the presentee, were protesting against his settlement amongst them, as a gross outrage upon their spiritual interests, and a direct violation of their rights.

It is no slight evil when even, by mere efflux of time, ancient forms, to the observance of which we are bound under solemn obligations, have been emptied of their original uses and left, as it were, on the deserted shore in a putrescent state. The man who is introduced into a grave office through a parade of unreal

forms, is prone to sink his responsibilities to the level of the worthless ceremonial by which he was inducted; and to transfer to the one something of that levity without which it is impossible to regard the other. But the case is worse when divines and legislators, who should be the guardians of national veracity and honour, insist upon retaining forms which are not only obsolete, but false; and still worse, again, if they force men, in the most solemn actions of their lives, to prevaricate with their own consciences. And from such transgression it is not easy to clear the Moderate party of this period.

The question of patronage, after the slumbers of half a century, once more started into life in 1834; but now it appeared no longer as a question purely ecclesiastical. It was the watchword of a great party which had lately sprung into existence, and of whom the ancient champions for the purity of the discipline of the Church, though still the leaders, were in respect of numbers a small proportion. The Reform Bill of 1831 had placed in the hands of the Scotch people those rights which had previously been vested in a few hundred individuals. The possession of power so vast, acquired upon a sudden, could not fail to suggest both a consciousness of strength and a disposition to make use of it. There had never been wanting a succession of men, in the General Assembly, to remind the nation that it was defrauded of its spiritual rights. And at this crisis the men who maintained this position were second in eloquence, and power, and popularity to none of the Presbyterian clergy when the Church was in her palmiest days. It is enough to repeat the names of Chalmers, Candlish, Gordon, Welsh, and MacFarlane, as the leaders of the party; though many others might be added of scarcely inferior note. It was natural and indeed inevitable, that the acquisition of political power should make the people more impatient than before, of what they at least considered a disgraceful thraldom in matters spiritual. The patronage question grew at once into a national grievance. Anti-patronage societies were banded together, on the ground of putting an end to the present system, and restoring to the people their long-lost rights, in the great towns of Scotland and even in villages and rural parishes. At the hustings the abolition of patronage was made the test. A committee of the House of Commons was appointed, as early as the spring of 1834, to consider the whole question of patronage

in Scotland, and to inquire how far it was in accordance with the practice and principles of the Church of Scotland. The committee was satisfied with merely reporting the evidence which had been laid before it: probably because the General Assembly had no desire to renew the discussion of the question about the same time.

The great movement which terminated in the disruption of the Church, was in fact begun in the General Assembly in the year 1832, when overtures or petitions were presented from three provincial synods and eight presbyteries, recommending that measures should be taken to restore the parochial call to its proper efficacy. The motion that these overtures should be remitted to a committee was lost on a division by a majority of forty-two. But the gathering strength of the non-intrusionists may be seen in the fact, that when the Assembly met again, instead of eleven there were forty-two overtures, with the same prayer, from the inferior ecclesiastical courts. It was no longer doubtful that a crisis was at hand. The leaders of the non-intrusionists now resolved upon their mode of action; and in 1833 the question of the veto, introduced by Dr. Chalmers and supported by Lord Moncrieff, one of the leaders of the Scottish bar, was debated in the General Assembly. Dr. Chalmers spoke with great moderation and, in our judgment, with equal wisdom. "He had no great faith," he said, "in the efficacy of a renovated constitution, to bring about a renovated spirit either amongst ministers or people. It seemed to him like the problem of the best construction for a house, with the misfortune of having nothing but frail materials to build it with; in which case the study of the fittest proportions for durability and strength were of little avail to them. It should be remembered after all that we have nothing but human nature to piece and build with; and that with such materials we expect in vain to make good our escape from corruption, by passing from one form to another. It is for this reason," he said, "that however much I may sympathize with many of my friends in my wishes for a pure and efficient Church, I do not sympathize with them in the extravagance of their hopes. I will not be a party to the delusion, that our Church is necessarily to become more Christian, by the constitution of it becoming more popular, or by the transference of its authority from the hands of the few to the hands of the

many." Yet he blamed with great severity "the enormity, the unfeeling outrage, which, in the exercise of a reckless and unprincipled patronage, had often forced an ungodly pastor on a sorely-aggrieved people." He concluded with a motion declaratory of the law as, according to his interpretation, it then existed. The Assembly was called upon "to declare that it was, and had been ever since the Reformation, a fixed principle in the law of the Church, that no minister shall be intruded into any pastoral charge contrary to the will of the congregation. That inasmuch as doubts and misapprehensions had existed, it further declared it to be their opinion, that the dissent of a majority of the male heads of families resident within the parish, being members of the congregation, and in communion with the Church for a period of at least two years, and *whether such dissent should be expressed with or without reasons assigned*, ought to set aside the patron's nominee. Except, indeed, it could be clearly shown that the dissent was corrupt and malicious in its character, or that it had no reference to his ministerial gifts and qualifications, either in general or with reference to that particular parish." After a long and eloquent discussion the motion was lost by a small majority. For the motion of Dr. Chalmers there were 137, for the amendment of Dr. Cook 149. Dr. Cook admitted that, for many years, the power of the Church in this matter had been "practically narrowed," but he objected to the project of giving effect to the dissent of the congregation *without compelling them to assign their reasons.* So nearly it seems were the two parties of one mind that a single point of difference now parted them asunder. There are few Christian men we hope, and certainly those few will not be found amongst the number who, deeply versed in the Church's history, have come to the conclusion that, of all the injuries she has received, the most deeply wounding are those which, in intestine broils, she has inflicted on herself, who will not join with us in an expression of the deepest sorrow that, if this indeed were the only point at issue, no compromise was effected. But from this day forward the breach became wider on both sides, and the disposition to conciliate never seems to have returned on either.

The next year the non-intrusionists still gaining strength, a measure similar to that which Chalmers had proposed was introduced in the General Assembly by Lord Moncrieff, and carried,

[redacted] law and usage as a fundamental law of the Church, that no pastor shall be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people. The veto of the male communicants, heads of families, members of the vacant congregation, was a sufficient ground for the rejection of the presentee. It differed from Chalmers' motion only in this, that the dissatisfied party was, if required, solemnly to declare in the presence of the presbytery, that he was actuated by no factious or unworthy motive, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interests of those of the congregation. During the time in which this law was in force (for it was set aside by the General Assembly, but restored in the civil courts, confirmed by the House of Lords), two hundred vacancies occurred, and in eighty-four of these only the veto was exercised: but it is affirmed by the best informed men that in no instance was the opposition to the presentee carried greatly to the honour of the Scotch character for charity, however lax as to the manner in which the veto might have been used after the lapse of time. It was the interest of every congregation, if they wished to retain the veto, to use it only in the most extraordinary manner; and this they were the more likely to do, as the result soon showed they were hardly safe in their possession of the boon. In England we should conceive the abuses of such a measure in the highest degree injurious to the true interests of the national Church. But it does not follow, we admit, that the same evils which would attend it here must arise in Scotland. It is a question upon which only those who have a deep acquaintance with the institutions, the history, and the national character of the Scotch are competent to form a very decided opinion. Dr. Chalmers, in later years, while he utterly rejected the claim to a veto without reasons given, as *an inherent Church right* belonging to a Christian congregation, which was the ground assumed by some of his coadjutors, still thought that it might safely be, and ought to be, conceded.

Passing by some events of importance, we arrive at the famous Auchterarder case, which finally brought this great dissension to a crisis. The Earl of Kinnoul presented a licentiate, Mr. Young, to the vacant living of Auchterarder, of which he was the patron. A licentiate is still a layman; his license merely implies, that the Church is so far satisfied with his capacity, learning, and other



ifications, as to sanction his preaching on probation. Mr. ng having preached on trial at Auchterarder, the congrega- was dissatisfied, and the call was signed by three persons , out of a parish of three thousand. Thus the presentation the signature of the patron; but the call could scarcely be to bear the signatures of the congregation. The veto was interposed, and out of three hundred and thirty persons led to vote, two hundred and eighty-seven dissented from call. The question being carried to the presbytery was by a referred to the superior court, the synod of Perth and ing, and by them again to the General Assembly. The sion here was against the patron's nominee, on the ground the call was not a good or sufficient call. Against this ence Mr. Young attempted to appeal to the synod of Perth rst; but soon afterwards this appeal was dropped, and he nced his intention of carrying the case before the civil ts. It was accordingly tried before the Court of Session, highest of the civil courts in Scotland. The highest legal nt was employed on both sides, and the pleadings, which n on the 21st of November 1837, closed on the 12th of the eeding month; and, on six subsequent days, the judges in ession delivered their opinions; deciding, by a majority of t to five, in favour of the patron, and of Mr. Young, his inee. This decision, in fact, declared the veto law a nullity; the act of the presbytery who had carried out the veto, an al act. In May 1838, the General Assembly warmly took he question, which had now become that of its own spiritual emacy, and instructed its law officer to lodge an appeal re the House of Lords. According to its own view of the ect, the Church's spiritual jurisdiction was seriously menaced. he blow had not yet been struck which should lay her pros- e beneath the secular power, the arm, it was said, was lifted, there was no want of will to strike. By a majority of one dred and eighty-three to one hundred and forty-two, the mbly at the same time passed a resolution, thus:—

That the General Assembly of this Church, while they un- lifiedly acknowledge the exclusive jurisdiction of the civil ts in regard to the civil rights, and emoluments secured by to the Church, and the ministers thereof; and will ever and inculcate implicit obedience to the decisions there-

anent, do resolve—that as it is declared in the Confession of Faith of this national established Church, that the Lord Jesus Christ is King and Head of the Church, and hath therein appointed a government in the hands of Church officers distinct from the civil magistrate, and that in all matters touching the doctrine, government, and discipline of the Church, her judicatories possess an exclusive jurisdiction, founded on the word of God, which power ecclesiastical (in the words of the Second Book of Discipline) flows from God and the Mediator Jesus Christ, and is spiritual, not having a temporal head on earth, but only Christ, the only spiritual King and Governor of his Kirk; and they do further resolve, that this spiritual jurisdiction, and supremacy, and sole headship of the Lord Jesus Christ, on which it depends, they will assert, and at all hazards defend, by the help and blessing of that great God, who, in the days of old, enabled their fathers, amid manifold persecutions, to maintain a testimony even to the death for Christ's kingdom and crown; and finally, that they will firmly enforce obedience to the same upon all office-bearers and members of this Church, by the execution of her laws, in the exercise of the ecclesiastical authority wherewith they are invested."

Nearly a year elapsed before the case was heard in the House of Lords. The judgment confirmed the decision of the Court of Session. Lords Brougham, and Cottenham, then Lord Chancellor, were the law lords by whom the House was guided; and neither of those high authorities "could see any difficulty in the question." Both of them holding, that the Church, in the matter of the fitness of a presentee, "must strictly limit herself to judge of his personal qualifications, that is, his life, literature, and manners." The decision gave, as may be supposed, great dissatisfaction to the non-intrusion party in Scotland. It deprived, they said, the congregation of all standing or influence in the settlement of their minister: if he were not grossly ignorant or notoriously immoral, they had no ground left on which they could object to his intrusion. The interpretation of the law lords, they maintained, was altogether new—new to every party of churchmen in Scotland. But the mere novelty of this interpretation was even less alarming than those general views as to the constitution of the Church, and her subjection to the State,

upon which it was obviously based. It was in vain she boasted of a constitution and polity possessed, not by virtue of any donation of the State, but by virtue of her Divine institution by Christ. It was in vain her advocates pointed to the many statutory recognitions of her government and discipline as flowing to her from her great spiritual head. She found, after all, that she had no freedom except that which was expressly granted by statute law. "If this were conceded," said Rutherford, the solicitor-general of Scotland, "one-half and more than one-half of the privileges of the Church would be disallowed, and she would be rendered more bare of honour and prerogative, than even any ordinary co-operation whose privileges may be asserted and ascertained by an appeal to the general practice of the constitution."

The unfortunate cases of Lethendy, and Marnoch, now took place. In the former of these the civil courts opposed and crushed the Assembly. In the latter the Assembly insulted and defied the courts of law. The cases though complicated as to their details, and sufficiently tedious in their process, may, as to their general bearings, be briefly stated. The Crown as patron nominated Mr. Clark to the living of Lethendy; he was vetoed by the people and rejected by the presbytery of Dunkeld. An appeal was made to the General Assembly on behalf of Mr. Clark, but they confirmed the sentence of the presbytery. We must here state that, as Mr. Clark was some time after degraded from the ministry on account of drunkenness, it may fairly be supposed that, in this instance, the veto was not exercised without a sufficient cause. A year afterwards, however, that is in November 1837, Mr. Clark brought an action against the presbytery before the Court of Session. But the Crown, lending, in this instance, its sanction to the decision of the Church, and regarding the parish as vacant in consequence of the veto, issued another presentation in favour of Mr. Kassen whom the people of Lethendy willingly received. The Court of Session interfered, and by their interdict forbade his ordination by the presbytery. The presbytery appealed for protection to the General Assembly, and the General Assembly threw its shield over them, and commanded the presbytery of Dunkeld to proceed with the ordination of Mr. Kassen to be the minister of Lethendy. They did so, and were at once summoned to appear at the bar of the

Court of Session, at Edinburgh, on the 14th of June 1838. And now the civil powers and the Church of Scotland were in direct collision: and one of those scenes occurred which, however graphic on the page of history, seldom fails to end in the destruction of one or other of the parties concerned in them. "Since the days," says a Scotch writer, "when ministers and people were in use to be brought up for fine and imprisonment, for refusing to acknowledge the supremacy (in matters spiritual) when claimed for the king, no such scene had been witnessed in our supreme courts."

"In front, elevated on their bench, clothed in their robes of human authority, and invested with the stern insignia of secular power, sat the judges, twelve in number. Opposite stood another court, a court of Christ—called to their bar for executing the spiritual functions conferred by the Lord Jesus on his Church, in ordaining a brother to the holy ministry, and intrusting him with the spiritual charge of a portion of Christ's flock, in disregard of the mandate of the judges of a secular tribunal, who had no commission to exercise rule in the house of God. The members of this court of Christ, eight in number, knew well that the judges before whom they stood had the power to consign them, during pleasure, to a jail: leaving their homes desolate—and more painful still, their people without the ordinances of religion. They also knew that a single word of acknowledgment of the court's power, and of regret at having disregarded it, would have secured them at once from any hazard. Otherwise the temper of the court afforded apparently but little hope."—*Buchanan's Ten Years' Conflict.*

"A very few of the most respected ministers of Edinburgh and its neighbourhood, sufficient to countenance their brethren, but not to have the appearance of a bravado, attended them to the bar. First one, and then another, and then a third followed them. A frown darkened the brow of the court; but the crowd closing, as if all had come in, nothing was said. After a moment's pause the crowd opened again, and another entered. It was Dr. Gordon. No sooner was his venerable and noble head seen emerging from the crowd at the end of the bar, than the smothered feeling burst from the bench in a command 'to turn out those clergymen from the bar;' but an indignant and solemn remonstrance from lord Moncrieff checked this attempt. 'Gen-

tlemen,' said the lord president, after their names had been read over, and the citation read, 'I have to ask you, one and all, whether by yourselves, or counsel, you have anything to say in explanation or vindication of your conduct?' "

The presbytery made their defence, simply disclaiming any intention of disrespect to the court, and declaring, that in ordaining Mr. Kassen to the office of the ministry, and admitting him to the pastoral charge, they had only acted in obedience to the superior judicatories of the Church, to which, said they, in matters spiritual, we are subordinate, and to which, at ordination, we vowed obedience. By a narrow majority of the judges present the clergy escaped imprisonment, and were subjected only to the solemn censure of the court. In pronouncing the censure, the lord president took occasion to say that the ordinary punishment for disobedience to the law by a breach of interdict was imprisonment. "I am directed by the court," he said, "to signify, that it was not without considerable difficulty their lordships brought themselves to adopt this lenient measure; but they desired me to state, that if you, or any other presbytery of the Church, were ever brought before them again under similar circumstances, you and they will be dealt with in a very different manner." Whether such threats were wise, and whether they became the dignity of the Court of Session, are points which need not be discussed. Taken in connection with the censure, which was the only sentence the court actually passed, they excited no other feeling in Scotland among the non-intrusionists than indignation, mingled with that disrespect which never reaches courts of justice until nations are on the verge of some violent catastrophe. The presbyters of Dunkeld were revered as confessors; and the enthusiasm of Scotland in their behalf rose still higher when it was known that they were amerced in enormous expenses for this judicial process; and higher still when Mr. Clark, having subsequently raised against them an action on the plea of their having illegally excluded him from the parish of Lethendy, obtained a decree for damages to the extent of several thousand pounds.

The case of Marnoch, in the presbytery of Strathbogie, proved to be of still greater moment than that which we have just related: it brings before us the Church of Scotland in successful hostility to the civil powers. The parish became vacant in 1837, and was presented by the trustees of the patron, the earl of Fife, to a

[illegible] the proceedings displeasing to the parishioners; [illegible] which a pastoral could be prevailed upon to sign the [illegible]. Since the division of the Assembly, in 1838, he was [illegible]. Mr Edwards the nominee, appealed to the [illegible] and obtained a decree, commanding the presbytery [illegible] with the examination of Mr. Edwards, with a view to his induction. The presbytery, by a majority of [illegible], in great haste immediately complied; and as [illegible] in contumacious opposition to the General Assembly. The subject was brought before a commission of that body which met in December, 1838. The refractory seven were [illegible] to retrace their steps; or at least, to desist from further proceedings until the General Assembly should meet in May. They refused, however, either to express contrition for the past or to make any promise for the future. The commission accordingly adopted the severe measure of suspending them altogether from the functions of the holy ministry. This resolution was carried by Dr. Candlish and seconded by Dr. Chalmers, [illegible] in which we mark the stern determination with which the unhappy contest had now infected some of the wisest and gentlest natures. The seven presbyters sought the interdict of the civil court to suspend the sentence: and it interdicted their opponents in consequence, forbidding them to preach in the churches, churchyards, or schoolrooms of the seven ejected ministers. Still the Assembly refused to submit. The seven parish churches were now closed upon the sabbath, against the intruders by the sentence of the commission, against the ministers appointed by the General Assembly to supply their place by the interdict of the Court of Session. Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Gordon, and others of high standing in the Church, went forth, however, in the face of interdicts served personally on each of them, and preached in fields and barns through the district of Strathbogie. It was now evident that the supreme civil court had lost its power, for its interdicts were treated with contempt, and it made no further effort to vindicate its authority. It was a state of things too full of peril to be suffered to continue on either hand. The call for legislative interference grew loud and urgent from both sides, and it was fondly hoped that the government of the day would speedily apply some effective remedy for these disorders.

e year 1840, Lord Aberdeen at length introduced the
h ever since has borne his name,—the government, of
e was a member, having declined to legislate. It utterly
give satisfaction to the non-intrusionists, and was at
nounced as unsatisfactory by a large majority in the
Assembly. It was in consequence abandoned in the
f Lords. The reasons of their dissatisfaction are stated
Dr. Chalmers:—"The three things which are fatal to
are, first, the obligation laid on the presbytery to give
nent exclusively on the reasons, instead of leaving a
arbitrium in all the circumstances of the case. Secondly,
the bill, in its whole tone and structure, subordinates
rch to the civil power in things spiritual. Thirdly, it is
ially the same measure with that which was moved for
look and rejected by the Church." In short, the bill left
ed the decision of the House of Lords in the Auch-
case, and disallowed the veto law of the General As-
it did not permit the congregation or the presbytery to
a nominee without assigning reasons for so doing.

ejection of this measure was the signal for a burst of
l bitter feeling on both sides. Lord Aberdeen, in the
f Lords, and Sir Robert Peel, in the House of Commons,
ned in the strongest terms the conduct of the General
ly. The latter said, "he was exceedingly sorry that the
not to receive the sanction of the legislature. If it had
that house of Parliament, it should have had his cordial
He could conceive that a bill might pass the house
ing more of the principle of popular election into the
f ministers—he could conceive that to be possible—but
quite certain that no bill containing terms more favour-
ecclesiastical authority would ever pass. The spiritual
y now claimed by the Church of Scotland he believed
just and illegal; and he would not, for the purpose of
ion, give his support to it."

ner unsuccessful attempt to heal the breach, by the inter-
of an Act of Parliament, was made, in the House of
y the Duke of Argyll, on the 6th of May, 1841. The
ch he introduced was substantially a repetition of the
ly's veto law. The veto might be exercised by all male
nicants above twenty-one years of age without assigning

a reason ; but the veto might be set aside if it could be proved to be factious. The House of Lords having read the bill a first time, agreed that it should stand over until it had been discussed in the House of Assembly. In that house, after a long discussion, it was declared to meet the wants of the Scotch Church by a majority of more than two to one. But the Parliament was suddenly dissolved, and the administration broken up. The bill, of course, perished ; and as Sir Robert Peel was at the head of the new administration, it was evident that the non-intrusionists had nothing to expect from the new Parliament.

The year following was full of important incidents. Other ministers, following the example of the presbytery of Strathbogie, were silenced and deposed. The friends of the non-intrusionists attempted to introduce the Duke of Argyll's bill into the House of Commons, and were defeated. The General Assembly met on Thursday, the 19th of May, 1842, before the Marquis of Bute, as lord high commissioner. The ancient pomp and martial cavalcade were viewed by Scotchmen with strange feelings, in which enthusiasm was not unmixed with apprehension and deep disquietude. The whole kingdom of Scotland was rent into two parties, nearly equal in point of numbers ; or if the non-intrusionists were the minority, or if they wanted the support of the nobility and the ancient lairds, the loss was more than counterbalanced by the perfect union of the party, its concentrated aim, by the eloquence of its leaders, and the resolution and determination of purpose felt by every member of it. Since the Reformation, no European state had been so profoundly agitated on religious subjects. And the future seemed all uncertain, so nicely were parties balanced, even to the leaders on both sides.

Two great discussions took place in the Assembly, the one on patronage, and the other on the claim of right, which at once disclosed the firmness of purpose which now prevailed in that venerable house. And these, it was observed, were the only two questions on which Dr. Chalmers spoke, for he now threw himself entirely into the cause of the non-intrusionists, and had indeed become their leader. It was moved and carried by a large majority, and the motion was supported by Dr. Chalmers, that patronage, as both in itself a grievance and the main cause of the difficulties in which the Church had been involved, ought to

be abolished. The claim of right was moved the very next day by Chalmers himself. It is a document of great length, and was carried by a large majority. It is considered as a declaration of high importance; the solemn league and covenant of the free Church of the nineteenth century. Dr. Buchanan thus speaks of it: "The drawing up of this memorable document had been intrusted to Mr. Dunlop, and seldom, if ever, was a task so weighty and responsible more admirably performed. Its style grave and perspicuous, its tone calm and solemn, its facts well chosen, accurately stated and lucidly arranged, its argument direct and powerful, its conclusion clear and resolute; it must ever be regarded, by all intelligent and candid readers, as every way worthy of the great occasion on which it was to be employed, and of the remarkable event with which it is destined to be inseparably associated in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland." Of this "claim, declaration, and protest anent the incroachments of the Court of Session," for thus it is entitled, it is difficult, within the limits to which we are confined, to give a summary. It sets out with asserting the sole headship of Christ over the Church. To the civil magistrate is committed the power of the sword, or civil rule, as distinct from the power of the keys, or spiritual authority, expressly denied to him. It cites the various statutes by which the independence of the Church and its civil rights and privileges have been sanctioned or secured; it asserts that these rights were acknowledged at the union of the two kingdoms, though grossly infringed by the act of queen Anne in restoring patronage. It then goes on to notice the Auchterarder decision, of which it complains that it violated the decisions of the civil courts ever since the union, and a long enumeration follows of the facts on which this assertion rests, and it charges the civil courts in conclusion with exercising powers which they did not legally possess, invading the jurisdiction of the Church, subverting its government, and oppressing its ministers, in usurping the power of the keys and claiming jurisdiction in matters wholly spiritual. Inasmuch as they had regulated by their decrees the ordination of laymen to the office of the holy ministry, admission to the cure of souls, Church censures, the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments. All this was done, it affirms, in opposition to the doctrine of God's word as set forth in the Confession of Faith, which was confirmed by statute in

violation of the constitution, in disregard of the treaty of union, and of express enactments of the legislature.

And upon these grounds the General Assembly claims, in the name of the Church, and on behalf of the nation and people of Scotland, as of right freely to possess her liberties and to be protected against the encroachments of the Court of Session; and they declare that they cannot carry on the government of Christ's Church subject to the coercion attempted by the secular court, nor can they assist to intrude ministers on reclaiming congregations. A protest follows to this effect—that all acts of the parliament of Great Britain in alteration of or derogative to the government, rights, discipline, and privileges of the Church, being by the terms of the Union antecedently secured, and so reserved from the cognizance and power of the imperial parliament, are and shall be in themselves null and void, and of no legal force or effect, as also all sentences of courts of civil law. And finally, the General Assembly appeals to the Christian people of this kingdom, and of all the Churches of the Reformation throughout the world, who hold the great doctrine of the sole headship of the Lord Jesus over his Church, to witness that it is for their adherence to that doctrine that the Church is subjected to hardship, and the rights so sacredly pledged and secured to her are put in peril. It concludes with a solemn appeal to Almighty God; "and they especially invite all the office-bearers and members of this Church, who are willing to suffer for their allegiance to their adorable King and Head, to stand by the Church and by each other in defence of the doctrines aforesaid, and of the liberties and privileges, whether of office-bearers or people, which rest upon it; and to unite in supplication to Almighty God that he would be pleased to turn the hearts of the rulers of this kingdom to keep unbroken the faith pledged to this Church in former days, by statutes and solemn treaty, and the obligations come under to God himself to maintain and preserve the government and discipline of this Church in accordance with his word; or otherwise that he would give strength to this Church, office-bearers and people, to endure resignedly the loss of the temporal benefits of an establishment, and the personal sufferings and sacrifices to which they may be called, and would inspire them with zeal and energy to promote the advancement of his Son's kingdom, in whatever condition it may be his will

to place them; and that, in his own good time, he would restore to them those benefits, the fruits of the struggles and sufferings of their fathers, in times past, in the same cause; and thereafter give them grace to employ them, more effectually than hitherto they have done, for the manifestation of his glory."

The claim of right, moved by Dr. Chalmers and seconded by Dr. Gordon, was carried by a large majority, namely 241 to 110. But it must not be forgotten that the minority was powerful both in numbers and in force of argument, and that the measure was regarded by them as one of extreme violence. The great subject at issue was the meaning of the doctrine of the headship of Christ. Dr. Cook, the leader of the Moderate party, said, "What I maintain is this; that when the general doctrine that Christ is the head of the Church is conscientiously held, there is nothing wrong in believing that there may be ground for diversity of sentiment as to what is comprehended under that headship in all cases, particularly where there are not express and unambiguous declarations of Scripture upon the subject. Much as we have heard of spiritual independence, and much as has been written or spoken about it, it is still of moment to define it, or to endeavour to form clear notions of what is included in it."

The Marquis of Bute was requested, as Lord High Commissioner, to lay it before the Queen, as supreme head of the State. It was presented through the Minister, but, beyond a courteous acknowledgment, it had no results. Sir James Graham addressed a letter in reply to the General Assembly, in which the claim of right was pronounced to be unreasonable, and the intimation was conveyed that the Government "could not advise her Majesty to acquiesce in these demands." A second decision on the Auchterarder case, in the House of Lords, confirming a decision of the Court of Session, by which Lord Kinnoul and Mr. Young, who had raised a second action against the presbytery of Auchterarder, were entitled to damages (laid at sixteen thousand pounds) for compensation, in consequence of Mr. Young's rejection, reduced the non-intrusionists to despair. If the first decision put a new interpretation on the law of patronage, this second decision gave, as they believed, a new interpretation to the relationship in which the Church stood in reference to the State. The determination of the supreme civil court of the United

Kingdoms was, in short, that the Court of Session controlled the decisions of the General Assembly, and so imposed upon the Church an obligation to obedience which she could not disregard without exposing herself to civil penalties. To them this appeared to amount not simply to a change in the constitution of the Scottish establishment, but to its entire reversal. The question of non-intrusion was no longer in the foreground, it had become subordinate to discussions of much higher moment; and the conviction was evidently forcing itself upon the mind of Chalmers and his friends that no other course was left for them but to withdraw from the Church of Scotland. "I have no idea," wrote Dr. Chalmers, on hearing of the second Auchterarder decision, "of an instant resignation; we must not go out in driblets, but in a compact and entire body. * * * I apprehend the final step should not be taken till the next session of Parliament, but meanwhile a manifesto, setting forth both our principles and our determination, should be put forth as soon as may be, and subscribed by all our friends in the Church."

It was resolved by the leaders of the non-intrusionists to invite their clerical brethren to a convocation, in order to discuss the duties of the crisis, and calmly to survey the perils by which they were surrounded. It was attended by four hundred and sixty-five ministers, of whom four hundred and twenty-three concurred in a series of resolutions to the effect that the supremacy of the civil courts over those of the Established Church was an usurpation of the power of the keys to which they could not in conscience submit; and, consequently, that no measure professing to bring relief could be satisfactory to them which did not effectually protect the Church against the exercise of the civil powers in time to come. It was followed by a second series, which concluded with a solemn declaration that it must be the duty of the Church, and consequently, in dependence on the grace of God, it was the determination of the brethren, then assembled, if no such measure were granted, to tender the resignation of their civil advantages, which they could then no longer hold in consistency with the full and free exercise of their spiritual functions. They would cast themselves on such provision as God in his providence might afford; and they would still maintain uncompromised the principle of a right scriptural connection between the Church and State; and they entered their solemn protest against

cision of the civil courts and the House of Lords, as con-
o the law and constitution of the country as hitherto it had
s been understood. Many of the clergy who had signed
st resolutions hesitated for a time. They were adopted at
y two hundred and seventy voices, but the number swelled,
the convocation closed, to three hundred and fifty-four.
s were taken to lay before the public the sentiments of the
bled pastors. To convey to the community at large early
ıthentic information of what had taken place, the convoca-
losed its sittings in public, and three of its members were
ıted to address the meeting. An address to the people of
nd was prepared and widely circulated over the whole
om; and, lastly, a memorial was drawn up, embodying the
ries of resolutions, and distinctly proclaiming their inten-
or the future. It was addressed to Sir Robert Peel and
her members of the administration, and this was the last
of the non-intrusionists ere they quitted the Church. With
monstrance the ten years' conflict closed.

eeble attempt was made by their friends in the House of
ıons. On the 7th of March, Mr. Fox Maule moved that
ouse should resolve itself into a committee to take into
eration the grievances of which the Church of Scotland
ained. He was ably followed by Mr. Campbell, Sir George
Mr. Rutherford, and Mr. Stewart; but the grievances
distracted Scotland, and at least absorbed the attention,
pressed the consciences of some men of rare endowments,
and intellectual, found little favour in a British House of
ıons. As in the House of Lords, so here again, our great
nen saw no difficulty whatever in the case—none but such
se from the perverse understanding and rebellious temper
non-intrusionists. Sir James Graham "thought that the
the House extinguished the expectation of the Church
tter, because he was satisfied that any such expectation
could be realized in any country in which law or equity, or
or common sense prevailed." Lord John Russell, "greatly
ting a calamity which he saw impending," in answer to the
ıent that the Church claims supreme power only in spiri-
ınd not in civil matters, said, "he could not conceive the
ction between Church and State carried on under such
ions." Sir Robert Peel thought "that it was impossible

that civil and ecclesiastical courts, having a co-ordinate jurisdiction, could exist together; this would amount," he said, "to something very like a separation of Church and State. If a Church chooses to participate in the advantages appertaining to an establishment, that Church, whether it be the Church of England, the Church of Rome, or the Church of Scotland, that Church must conform itself to the law. It would be an anomaly —it would be an absurdity, that a Church should possess the privilege, and enjoy the advantages of connection with the State, and, nevertheless, claim exemption from the obligations, which, wherever there is authority, must, of necessity, exist; and this House and the country could never lay it down, that if a dispute should arise in respect of the statute law of the land, such dispute should be referred to a tribunal not subject to an appeal to the House of Lords. I consider," said he, "that a great principle is involved in this matter. If peace could be secured—if the rights of the subject could be maintained, consistently with the demands of the Church, then, indeed, such is my opinion of the pressing evils of this protracted disputation, that I should almost be induced to make any concession in order to obtain tranquillity. But my belief is, that such claims, were you to concede them, would be unlimited in their extent. They could not be limited to the Church of Scotland. A principle, then, is involved, and if the principle be conceded by the House of Commons, why, the House of Commons must be prepared to carry it out."

Without affecting to pronounce a decision upon the great question at issue between the two parties, we must remark that the real difficulty of the case is that which is stated by Sir Robert Peel. Shall a national Church, endowed and protected by the State, assert any rights or privileges, by whatever name they be termed, over which the highest of the civil Courts, nay, the sovereign himself, shall have no control? In this the whole question lies. If we concede such rights to the national Church, then it is not too much to ask, on the part of the State, first, that they shall be accurately defined; and, secondly, that they shall not interfere with the civil rights of the community, whether members of the Church or dissenters from it. To assert, when an injury is done to a refractory churchman by an ecclesiastical sentence, say, of excommunication, or, in the case of a clergyman,



by suspension from his functions, that he is punished only in spiritual things, is simply to trifle with words. The man is injured in his reputation in the one case—in both property and reputation in the other. For although it be true, that in the Scotch Church, the suspended minister retains the profits of his living, still no man of honour and right feeling could be satisfied to receive emoluments in return for which certain services ought to be performed, conscious, all the while, that, in the opinion of his parishioners, he is little better than a knave. Words and technicalities apart, there is inflicted by the Church a civil punishment; and, unless the Church be infallible in her councils, there may sometimes be inflicted a civil wrong. For this, however, there is to be no redress.

On the other hand, the non-intrusionists had good reasons for complaint, both against the decisions in the House of Lords and the majority in the House of Commons. By neither House were their arguments fairly met, nor do we think their claims were even discussed with candour. The strength of the non-intrusionists lay in the fact (a fact, at least, they affirmed it to be) that the Church of Scotland, from the Reformation to the Union, and the Act of Queen Anne, had always claimed, and always exercised, this supreme jurisdiction; and that, in truth, it had never been disputed during that whole period; and that, by the very conditions of the Union, the Imperial Parliament was deprived of the power, even if she had the will, of imposing new restraints. This legal argument, flanked by proofs from history, was met in Parliament by the assertion that "it was inconsistent with common sense," from Sir James Graham; and, by Lord Brougham and Sir Robert Peel, that it was inconsistent with the principles of the British Constitution,—arguments, which, if true, might prove the Church of Scotland a dangerous neighbour, and the Act of Union a foolish compact, but which could hardly be expected to give satisfaction to Dr. Chalmers and his friends,—that is, by this time, to at least one-third of Scotland.

Under the influence of these wounded feelings the General Assembly met, and the final disruption immediately took place. The historians of the Free Church of Scotland relate, in words fraught with eloquence and passion, the memorable scene which Edinburgh witnessed on the 18th day of May, 1843. The morning had scarcely broken before St. Andrew's church, in

which the General Assembly was to meet, was crowded in its galleries by an anxious multitude. As the day advanced the leading streets were filled with a silent, thoughtful crowd. Towards noon the Lord High Commissioner held his levee at the ancient palace of Holyrood: soldiers and civilians, clergy and laity, in numbers unwonted, once more crowded its venerable halls. A large portrait of William III., by the pressure of the crowd against the panel, was loosened from the wall, and fell heavily on the floor: "and there," exclaimed Crawfurd, of Crawfurdland, the representative of one of Scotland's oldest families, "there goes the revolution settlement!" When the levee closed, the customary procession formed, with something more than customary pomp, and proceeded to the high church. Dr. Welsh, the Moderator, preached, and his sermon solemnly foreshadowed the approaching storm. "The eyes of all Christendom are attracted to our struggle; the part which each one of us may this day take must send an influence, for good or evil, throughout succeeding generations. It now becomes my duty, before we go forth to proclaim to the world what our sentiments are, and to seal them by an irrevocable act, to take a calm review of those scriptural views by which we should be guided in this great crisis." The preacher dwelt on the severity of the trial, the scorn, the poverty, the charge of faction to which they would be exposed. "None," said he, "but those who have been tried can know the torture of coming to a resolution in the face of such objections. The frowns of tyrant power, the violence of popular tumult, the fragments of a falling world are but vulgar elements for shaking the fixed purpose, in comparison with the appeal to the modesty, and ingenuous candour, and self-denying respect for others of the humble Christian; and so it often is the sensibility of the soul is lost, and the principles which should form the nourishment of constant virtue are employed in administering to its destruction." Wise words, to whatever cause they may be applied!

About half-past two o'clock the sounds of martial music announced the approach of the Queen's Commissioner to St. Andrew's church, where the Assembly met. Dr. Welsh entered, and took the moderator's chair. Soon afterwards the Lord High Commissioner was announced, and the whole audience rose and received him standing. The area of the church was densely



crowded with the clergy and the lay members of the General Assembly, mingled with whom might be seen the representatives of other Churches, and from other lands, who had come to witness the transactions of this memorable day. The rest of the building presented a living mass of spectators. Dr. Welsh rose up and offered solemn prayer; the members resumed their seats. "Fathers and brethren," said Dr. Welsh, amidst breathless silence, "according to the usual form of procedure, this is the time for making up the roll; but in consequence of certain proceedings affecting our rights and privileges, proceedings which have been sanctioned by her Majesty's Government, and by the legislature of the country, and more especially in respect that there has been an infringement on the liberties of our constitution, so that we could not now constitute this court without a violation of the terms of the union between Church and State in this land, as now authoritatively declared, I must protest against our proceeding further. The reasons which have led me to come to this conclusion are fully set forth in the document which I hold in my hand; and which, with the permission of the house, I shall now proceed to read." This document, which was of great length, contained a solemn protest against the repeated encroachments of the civil power upon the Church, and concluded with a declaration that, since they could not longer remain with a clear conscience within the Church, it was lawful for them, and others who might concur with them, to separate themselves from the establishment, and to adopt such measures as might seem proper, in humble dependence on God's grace, and the aid of the Holy Spirit, for the advancement of his glory, the extension of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour, and the administration of the affairs of Christ's house, according to his holy word. "And we now," he said, in conclusion, "withdraw accordingly, humbly and solemnly acknowledging the hand of the Lord in the things which have come upon us, because of our manifold sins, and the sins of the Church and nation; but, at the same time, with assured conviction that we are not responsible for any consequences that may follow from this, our enforced separation, from an establishment which we loved and prized, through interference with conscience, the dishonour done to Christ's crown, and the rejection of his sole and supreme authority as king in his Church." Having read the protest, he turned towards the Commissioner,

and, bowing respectfully, slowly retired. He was followed after a moment's pause, by Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Gordon, Dr. Macfarlane, Dr. Thomas Brown, Dr. Macdonald, and Mr. Campbell, of Monzie. It is described as a moment of intense and overpowering interest; a cheer broke forth from the galleries, but it was immediately restrained, and a deeper emotion instantly succeeded, expressed in sad and silent tears. It had been confidently predicted by their opponents, and the Government was said, as we remember, at the time to have been deeply influenced by the representation, that, except a few of the leaders, who might be prevented by shame or wounded pride from retracing their steps, few, or perhaps none, would actually secede. A large secession had certainly never entered into the calculation of their opponents. In London, it was confidently believed, that, at the utmost, not more than ten or twelve would forsake the establishment. It was even insinuated, somewhat insultingly, that, after all, not one of them would go, and the ministry, it was well known, were strongly impressed with these convictions. The whole audience now stood gazing on the scene. "There was no hurry," says a witness; "no rush, no confusion. Bench after bench was vacant —man after man the protestors withdrew in silence, till one entire side of the Assembly, lately so crowded, was left with scarcely an occupant. More than four hundred ministers had left the Church of their fathers, and in that act had abandoned for ever their homes and their means of support, and now cast themselves, without reserve, upon the sympathies of the people and the good providence of God." Wherever lay the merits of the question the spectacle was sublime.

Through streets, along which they could with difficulty force their way, and escorted by a vast and enthusiastic crowd, the four hundred confessors proceeded to Canon-mills, where a large hall, capable of holding three thousand persons, had been hastily prepared. Their proceedings on the first day wore a popular character, not out of keeping with the enthusiasm of the moment. Prayer was offered up, and a psalm was sung with fervour, such as since the days of the Covenanters had been perhaps unknown, and by a multitude, such as since the days of Knox has seldom been assembled for the worship of God in Scotland. Dr. Chalmers, with a burst of acclamation was chosen moderator; clerks were appointed; and the meeting proceeded



at once to constitute itself the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland. First, a copy of the protest was signed by each of the seceding ministers and by a number of laymen; and it was resolved that all the ministers who signed the document, together with one elder from each kirk session, should constitute the new Assembly. A solemn deed was executed, by which the ministers renounced their benefices; and an address was prepared to the queen, formally and respectfully announcing to the head of the State the fact of the disruption, and the grounds on which the seceders had left the Established Church. The Free Assembly then proceeded with their ordinary business; for in fact there were no questions of doctrine, no difficulties such as occur when a new mode of discipline is to be debated, to divide its councils or to divert its strength. The temporary jar occasioned by the act of separation had passed over; and the Free Church, unchanged in any point of ecclesiastical constitution or internal economy, with her standards of faith, her laws, her presbyterian polity, entire, had but to prosecute the course on which at length she had dared to venture.

At first the prospect on all sides was brilliant. Two things, Dr. Hanna, the son-in-law and biographer of Chalmers, says, especially characterised the first General Assembly of the Free Church—the marvellous popular enthusiasm which it kindled without, and the equally marvellous and unbroken harmony which prevailed within. The sittings were continued from Thursday the 18th till Tuesday the 30th May; and yet from the beginning to the close of each daily sitting, the hall at Canonmills saw a compact crowd of three thousand auditors listening with intense attention to every part of the proceedings, and breaking out, whenever the occasion permitted, or at all encouraged it, into extraordinary demonstrations of sympathy and approval. Chalmers and his friends, with a clear foresight of the emergency, had prepared measures for a wide canvass of Scotland with a view of raising funds. Before the new Assembly rose Dr. Chalmers announced an aggregate sum of 232,347*l.* for the support of the Free Church of Scotland. In fact, the first year's income amounted to 366,719*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*

But the excitement of enthusiastic assemblies gave place to sterner realities, when the seceding clergy of four hundred and seventy parishes returned home, each to take leave of his parish

church and his much-loved home, the manse; to find his parishioners dejected and his house dismantled. Their sufferings were often severe. It falls to our task to describe the energetic movements of the Free Church party, the warmth and liberality of its friends. But it must not be forgotten that the strong determination of the national character was displayed, with scarcely less force, on the other side. With hardly an exception, the great landlords and the nobility regarded the Free Church with little favour; and acts of severity occurred little creditable to those concerned in them.

Excluded from his manse, one of the seceding ministers was invited by his widowed daughter to share her house, which was situated within the parish. She was rudely warned by the noble proprietor that "no house on his estate should be a lodging for dissenters;" and her parent was driven to seek a shelter elsewhere. Another, who had forsaken one of the loveliest homes, was compelled to sleep and study in a wretched garret, with no other covering than a slated roof, and died of cold. From the manse of Tongue, the patriarchal clergyman and his son, who was his assistant in the ministry, retired to a humble abode; and both died of fever in consequence of cold and privation. These were the martyrs of the Free Church. "This is hard enough," exclaimed the son to a friend who visited him, as he heard the dying groans of his father, "but I thank God I do not lie here a renegade. My father's conscience and mine are at peace." These, it is said, are but a few leaves of a record which if fully written would be a book of many and strangely coloured pages.

The sufferings of the infant Church were not limited to its clergy. Excluded from the parish church, its assemblies were often forbidden in the parish. Till comparatively recent times a Highland chieftain was despotic; his heritable jurisdiction gave him the power of life and death. It was never the Scottish character to be over-tolerant of strange religions, and its intolerance was now directed against itself; and Scotchmen suffered from their countrymen indignities, of which it may safely be said, that they would have received them from no other hands without stern resistance. On many vast properties in the north, where whole parishes had followed their seceding pastors, the noble landlords refused them the accommodation of a shed, or



rchase of an inch of ground. These trials, though hard to rere the greatest boon to the Free Church that wealth and ould have possibly bestowed. Its assemblies were gathered ely dells, on the mountain sides, under the shade of the nd solemn pine, or under the shelter of overhanging rocks, unts of Cameronian saints of old. With the habits of ncient Covenanters their spirit was revived. Had there n the minds of its leaders any apprehension lest the en- sm of their party should prematurely flag, such scenes as nust have cheered them with the assurance that all would l; for nothing could have been better calculated to keep he fervour, throughout the country, which had been kindled House of Assembly. The scenes of their mountain worship ighly picturesque. They caught the fancy of the London ated press; and in thousands of English drawing-rooms, the merits of the Free Church question were utterly wn, the sufferings of conscientious Scotchmen became at matter of the readiest sympathy. At length the hardship l the ear of the House of Commons; and a bill was even ened to compel the landlords to sell their land, under cer- rcumstances, for the erection of Free churches. But a nobler soon appeared, and it was withdrawn.

en the General Assembly of the Free Church met in urgh in May 1844, it was found that the affairs of the community were in a state of great prosperity. Without ion all the missionaries in foreign stations had signified adherence to the Free Church. And on the other hand, vide for their support, together with other schemes of ian philanthropy, there had been raised at home no less hirty-two thousand pounds—a sum greater, by twelve nd pounds, than had been raised by the whole Church of nd the year before the disruption. Within a single year, five hundred churches had been built; a number equal- hat of the parishes of Scotland: and yet the work of building was far from finished; for, contrary to all ations, the people had forsaken the establishment in a much ratio, as to numbers, than the ministers; and it would equired more than seven hundred churches to accommodate ngregations, who were ready to attach themselves to the Church. To meet the spiritual wants of more than two

hundred unprovided congregations the Church had only one hundred and thirty licentiates at command—some of whom, it might be presumed, were unlikely to be elected as ministers; of these so many as one hundred and fourteen were ordained in the course of the year which saw the original Church of the disruption; making an addition of about one-fourth to the number of her ministers.

The Free Church seems to have risen almost to her full strength at once. Her first year's income has, we believe, never been exceeded. It amounted, as we have mentioned, to 366,179*l.* At the close of the fifth year of her existence, the average was 304,788*l.* 17*s.* 3½*d.* per annum; since which period it has, we believe, remained almost stationary. The four hundred and seventy-four ministers who left the establishment in 1843 had increased, ten years afterwards, to about eight hundred. In the year 1853 the Free Church had in Scotland about eight hundred and fifty congregations, of which seven hundred and sixty are pastoral charges. These ministers, therefore, are distributed over a nearly equal number of settled pastoral charges,—besides which there are upwards of a hundred other congregations, served by licentiates of the Church, and by such other suitable Christian agencies as the Church can supply. Her ministrations extend to every district, and nearly to every parish in the land, from the Solway to the Shetland Isles, and to the furthest Hebrides; and there are whole islands, and even large counties in Scotland, where hardly any other Church is named or known. From seven to eight hundred churches have sprung up to accommodate her congregations. Manses, or parsonages for her ministers, are fast multiplying beside them. In 1845 it was resolved to make an effort for the erection of manses, and an appeal was made to the public which produced within a year 100,000*l.* Upwards of five hundred manses have been built at an average cost of at least 500*l.*; so that the total sum expended on parsonage-houses is not less than 250,000*l.*

In other directions the Free Church of Scotland, at her first starting into life, has displayed equal energy. At the time of the disruption all the missionaries and catechists in India, fourteen in number, claimed her care; and she has not only found herself able to support these but greatly to extend her missions, both among Jews and Gentiles. In 1847 the Free Church had

already raised annually for educational and missionary objects three times as much as the united Church of Scotland did in 1843. Never had the voluntary principle in religion been carried out with more success. At Pesth, at Jassy, at Berlin, at Constantinople, seventeen missionaries and assistants were endeavouring to promote the conversion of the Jews. At Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Poona, and Nagphur, it supported fifteen European clergymen ordained as missionaries, nine converted natives, engaged in the work of the Christian ministry, and a large band of teachers and assistants, both native and European; from whom 4,000 Indian children were receiving a complete Christian education. In Nova Scotia, the Canadas, the West Indies, the Cape, Australia, Madeira, Malta, Leghorn, and Gibraltar, there were ministers supported in whole or in part by the bounty of the Free Church, while 1,000*l.* annually had been entrusted to the evangelical societies of France and of Geneva, to aid in circulating the gospel over the continent of Europe.

One of her first efforts was to complete a scheme for home education, and thus in fact to make the organization of the Free Church, except in the matter of endowments, parochial and complete. There are now upwards of 600 schools, and an attendance of about 70,000 scholars. It has two normal schools, one in Edinburgh and one in Glasgow, for the training of schoolmasters. The teachers receive a salary from a general fund, which is raised by monthly contributions in all the congregations, and which is divided at the end of the year, according to a certain scale proportioned to the qualifications of the respective teachers. This fund amounts to upwards of 12,000*l.* annually. About 80,000*l.* has been expended in the building of schools, and nearly 20,000*l.* in the purchase or erection of normal schools.

The magnificent project of erecting a college which might vie with the ancient institutions of Scotland has been carried out with the utmost vigour, and apparently with great success. Chalmers was the chief promoter of the scheme, and he was placed at the head of the new institution. The first stone of the college was laid in 1846. In 1847 Dr. Chalmers died, but he had lived to see the institution of a seminary with nine professorships, to each of which a salary of three to four hundred pounds was attached. It had already three hundred and forty students for the sacred office; amongst whom bursaries and

scholarships had been distributed, in a single year, to the amount of 7[illegible]. The college has since been completed at a cost of nearly [illegible]. Mr. Wilson, in his sketch of the Free Church of Scotland, asserts, perhaps with a little exaggeration, that it is provided with a more complete staff of professors than any similar institution in Scotland, and with more effectual means of training an educated ministry than elsewhere is to be found in Britain. It has attached to it a Hebrew tutor, for initiating the students in the knowledge of the Oriental languages. A professor of logic, and a professor of moral philosophy, to secure efficient mental training in those branches of knowledge which are related more immediately to theological science. A professor whose function it is to instruct the students in natural theology, and the evidences of Christianity, and also in homiletics and pastoral theology, in two distinct classes. A professor of dogmatic theology, who has also a senior and junior class, suited to the progress of the students, who attend his prelections during two successive years. A professor of exegetic theology, who has also two classes, and a professor of natural science. This institution, so richly provided with living teachers, has already accumulated a library, which contains upwards of 25,000 volumes, and is believed to be the most valuable theological library in Scotland. A divinity hall has also been built at Aberdeen, and is already partially endowed. It has two professors of divinity and a Hebrew tutor, and embraces the same provision for the training of theological students which the universities of Scotland had previous to the disruption. These two institutions are attended by about two hundred and fifty students.

What may be the issue of the vast movement which brought the Free Church into existence, and to what extent the interests of religion will be affected by it for good and evil, is a question upon which thoughtful men who look upon the scene from a distance feel some anxiety. It must be admitted, after making every abatement for the enthusiasm of a party, that the seceding clergy made an heroic sacrifice. Such examples are of inestimable benefit to mankind. We confess that the question between the four hundred confessors and the General Assembly sinks into insignificance in our minds, compared with the illustrious example the suffering party have given to the Church of Christ in these later ages of the fidelity and disinterestedness, the indiffer-



ence to consequences, and the cheerful determination to abide by their principles whatever might betide them—which it is the glory of Christian men to show. The immense sums of money, so easily subscribed by a body comparatively poor, for objects purely spiritual, deserves high praise. It is impossible to contemplate a nation capable of such things without a feeling of great respect.

The wisdom of the secession, however, is to be argued upon different grounds. Taking for granted that the lay patronage was a great evil, was it such an one as to compel the seceders to the course they took? Some concessions they had already gained. Was the right, supposing it to exist, of a congregation to exclude a minister without assigning a reason, a point of so much consequence as to demand a remedy so violent? There are times, it is true, when the purity of the Church must be maintained at every hazard, and in the judgment of Dr. Chalmers and his friends that period had arrived. On this decision the Free Church stands.

The voluntary question, or in other words the problem whether the Christian instruction of a nation can safely be entrusted to the spontaneous liberality of individuals, has received some fresh light from the proceedings of 1843. It has been proved that the voluntary principle is sufficient, under certain conditions, to originate a vast movement; one which shall cover a whole nation, within a few years, with schools and churches in every parish. It has proved what indeed it would be an insult to Christianity itself to doubt, that there is sufficient energy in Christian men, and sufficient self-denial, to make an effort for the welfare of others, at the cost of every sacrifice, of every comfort and convenience, to themselves. But still we are to bear in mind, that men of earnest piety are few; that times of intense conflict between religious parties are never free, and never can be free, from some admixture of sordid influences; that party spirit will sometimes prompt us to part with wealth or station, when piety would in vain have asked us for the same surrender; and that a sudden burst of generosity is no sure pledge of its long continuance. Many years must elapse before either the friends or the opponents of the voluntary system, as applied to religion, will be safe in trusting much to the experiment of the Free Church of Scotland. The annals of voluntary churches pre-

sent no instance, it is true, of similar success; yet Dr. Chalmers' final verdict was, upon the whole, unfavourable. "It seems very clear," he says, in the last tract he wrote, "that internal voluntaryism will not of itself do all; and with all the vaunted prosperity of the Free Church, we do not find that external voluntaryism will either make up the deficiencies of the former, or still less of itself do all either. We rejoice in the testimony of the Free Church for the principle of a national establishment, and most sincerely do we hope she may never fall away from it. I can afford to say no more than that my hopes of an extended Christianity, from the efforts of voluntaryism alone, have not been brightened by my experience since the disruption. . . . And ere I am satisfied that voluntaryism will repair the mischief, I must first see the evidences of its success in making head against the fearfully-increased heathenism, and increasing still, that accumulates at so fast a rate throughout the great bulk and body of the common people. We had better not say too much on the pretensions or the powers of voluntaryism, till we have made some progress in reclaiming the wastes of ignorance and irreligion, and profligacy, which so overspread our land; or till we see whether the congregational selfishness, which so predominates everywhere, can be prevailed upon to make larger sacrifices for the Christian good of our general population. Should their degeneracy increase to the demolition, at length, of the present framework of society, and this in spite of all that the most zealous voluntaryism can do to withstand it, it will form a most striking experimental demonstration of the vast importance of Christian governments for the Christian good of the world."—*Earnest Appeal*, page 52, &c. See also for the whole subject of the secession—*Hanna's Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers*, volume 4. *The Ten Years' Conflict, by Robert Buchanan, D.D.*, two vols., 1852. *North British Review*. *Record Newspaper*, 1840-44. *Hansard's Debates in Parliament;* and innumerable pamphlets on both sides.

FRENCH PROTESTANT CHURCH.—The history of the Protestants of France is dark and tragical. No Christian population, in any land, has suffered so long and so bitterly. From the Reformation to the nineteenth century the history



of the Reformed Church in France is an unbroken succession of frightful injustice and appalling cruelties. And it has sufferred, too, the fate which attends a vanquished minority; ceasing to be feared it ceased to be known, and under the favour of indifference, calumny and prejudice have been received and credited, and even in Protestant nations, the Huguenots have been everywhere despised.

The first Protestant congregation in France was established at Meaux in 1521. Bucer and Melancthon had visited the neighbourhood just before, and created a thirst for reformation. Calvin's translation of the Bible into French had just appeared; and it was the year of Luther's appearance before the diet of Worms to plead the cause of religious-truth and liberty against the pretensions of the Court of Rome. Two remarkable men, Lefevre and Farel, were the first preachers of the reformed faith; and two noble women, the duchess of Ferrara and the queen of Navarre, were its first patrons; but the infant cause was scarcely brought before the world when a fierce persecution seemed to have crushed it, and amidst the fires of persecution it has had its home almost to the present time. The epithet Huguenot was applied to the Protestants of France in a very early period of their history. The derivation and meaning of the word are unknown, nor is it a question of much importance. Merle D'Aubigné, and others, derive it from Hugon's tower at Tours, where the Protestants assembled to worship secretly; others again from hegenen or huguenen, an old German word equivalent to our puritan. Browning, in his history of the Huguenots, has collected no less than ten different etymologies: amongst them is one of great antiquity (taken from a work printed at Lyons in 1573) which says: "Les Huguenots ont été ainsi appelés de Jean Huss duquel ils ont suivi la doctrine; comme qui disoit, les *guenons-de-Huss!*" *Guenon* is a young ape.

Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux, was one of the converts of Lefevre and Farel. He joined with the former in giving a wide circulation to the four gospels in the native tongue, and placed a copy of the Bible in the hands of the king's sister Marguérite de Valois, queen of Navarre. She read it diligently, and avowed herself, if not a Protestant, a friend at least of the Reformation. She encouraged the reading of the Scriptures, afforded a refuge to the Protestant ministers at her court, appointed Roussel, one

of the reformed, to the bishopric of Oleron, and used her influence with her brother Francis I. to impress him favourably on behalf of the new religion. The duchess of Ferrara joined in these noble efforts, and Francis seemed, for a time, to lend a willing ear to the teachers of the Huguenots. He was induced to invite Melancthon to confer with the clergy of France upon the best means of restoring harmony to the Church. The Reformation spread rapidly; the reformed thought themselves safe under the protection of the king's favourite sister, whose influence with him, derived from her own lofty character and superior understanding, was known to be commanding. Through the whole of Picardy, "the heretics of Meaux," as the opponents of Rome were then termed, spread their doctrines abroad with great success; and the duchess of Ferrara, the daughter of the late sovereign Louis XII., afforded a shelter to their ministers, and a centre of influence to their operations, at her noble chateau of Montargis, not far from Paris. It seemed probable that France would become a Protestant nation.

But these bright hopes were soon cut down. The atmosphere was suddenly overcast, and furious tempests began to beat upon the Huguenots. Tournon was archbishop of Lyons, and soon afterwards, in 1530, Cardinal. He had great influence with Francis, and was his chief adviser in difficult affairs. Melancthon's intended visit filled the clergy with dismay, renowned as he was for learning and eloquence, and Tournon succeeded in preventing it by a scheme which a Roman Catholic writer (Maimbourg, Hist. du Calvinisme) describes as worthy of immortality. He entered the royal apartment, reading or pretending to read a work of St. Irenæus. Francis inquired what book engaged his attention. He directed the king to a page where the saint gives utterance to his feelings against heretics, showing that the apostles would not even frequent any public building to which they were admitted—probably the story of St. John, who fled from the bath when he found Cerinthus, the Gnostic, there—and he then expressed his grief that, with such examples before him, the eldest son of the Church should even have invited an heresiarch, and the most celebrated of Luther's disciples, into his kingdom. The stratagem was completely successful; for Francis was, like our own Charles II., generous, prodigal, and brave, but licentious and careless of religion, and

willing to commit any injustice rather than have his pleasures interrupted or his peace disturbed. He instantly revoked the invitation of Melancthon, protested upon oath he would never desert the Catholic faith, and issued commands to prosecute the heretics with vigour. The priests of the diocese of Meaux, at the same time suffering in character and influence from the success of the Reformation, complained to the Sorbonne. The doctors were already sufficiently enraged by a contest they had had with Luther in 1521, which they had concluded by demanding that he should make a public recantation of his doctrines; a summons which, as may be supposed, he treated with contempt. But now, Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux, being involved in the charge of heresy by the clergy of his diocese, the theologians of the Sorbonne were favoured with an admirable pretext for calling in the succours of the parliament of Paris, on the one hand, and the pope, upon the other. The parliament were easily roused against a poor sect denounced at court and misrepresented by the clergy. A recent French writer (M. de Felice, Hist. des Protestants de France, &c.) says, they held for a fundamental maxim of the state this motto of the olden times: Une foi, une loi, un roi—one faith, one law, one king;—and did not believe that there ought to be tolerated in the same country two religions, any more than two governments. The pope thundered from the Vatican. He wrote to the parliament at Paris, "In this great and marvellous disorder, which flows from the rage of Satan, and from the rage and wickedness of his imps, all the world should strive their utmost to guard the common safety, seeing that this abomination would not only embroil and destroy religion, but, moreover, all principality, nobility, laws, orders, and degrees." The bishop was easily subdued, and paid a fine of two hundred livres for his misconduct. But the converts of Meaux were more resolute. A council was held at Paris, and it was resolved that the obstinate heretics should be exterminated. The zeal of the cardinal in the cause, soon made it apparent, that the threat, if possible, would be literally fulfilled. It was as dangerous to converse in secret as to discuss in public. Nothing escaped his vigilance: by means of spies and of a willing clergy he was everywhere; he seemed, as a contemporary writer tells us, to multiply himself in order to discover artifice or to punish temerity. Foreign princes

were accustomed to say that he alone was equal to an inquisition in France. In 1523, an edict against the heretics of Meaux was published, and the congregation was dispersed. Lefevre sought the protection of the queen of Navarre. Farel fled to Basle where he carried on his ministry, and continued to circulate the Scriptures, by means of pedlers, through France. But a vast multitude suffered martyrdom, and to strike terror the executions were dispersed over the kingdom: the consequence was that, everywhere, the doctrines of the reformers were canvassed, and that the patience of the sufferers won over thousands of converts. Pavannes was burnt alive in the Place de Grêve, in 1524. At the stake he declaimed against the Romish doctrine of the real presence. "I wish," exclaimed a doctor of the Sorbonne who heard him," "the Church had lost a million of gold rather than that Pavannes had spoken!" Louis de Berguin, a young man of noble family, was another victim. The parliament had determined on his death, when an order from the king, who was absent from Paris, suspended the execution. He was anxious to save Berguin, and perhaps not unwilling to humble the clergy; and he wrote to the Sorbonne commanding them to disprove twelve propositions which Berguin had maintained. The matter began to wear a serious aspect, when, happily for the Sorbonne, an image of the Virgin was mutilated; they instantly raised the cry of a conspiracy against religion; the people were aroused, and the cry in Paris was "No quarter to the heretics." On the 10th of November 1529, Berguin, escorted by six hundred soldiers, was carried to the place of execution and there strangled and burnt: he was not allowed to speak, but his cheerful carriage could not fail to strike with the deepest amazement; and the Grand Penitentiary, overcome with the spectacle, is said to have exclaimed, that for a hundred years no Frenchman had died a better Christian. But "those of the religion," as they were called by a delicate periphrasis, still increased in numbers and in firmness. Calvin, in 1529, dedicated his Institutes to Francis, in a noble preface, the admiration, for fifty years, of all Protestant Europe, imploring his compassion for the Protestants. The book tended to increase, rather than to diminish the rage of persecution in the king's breast. Influenced by the cruel suggestions of the clergy, he gave fresh orders for punishing the Calvinists wherever they



ould be found, and persons were employed to hunt after them: t was even declared a crime to pray in French. Numbers of ious men and women were burned alive; and as the speeches lelivered by the martyrs at the stake became a powerful means f conversion, measures were taken to prevent them from address- ng the spectators.

A scene was enacted at Paris on the 29th of January, 1535, lmost unmatched in cruelty. The Sorbonne resolved to embark he king beyond the possibility of retreat in the cause of the hurch, and to whet the appetite of the mob for blood. Some iolent placards affixed anonymously to the doors of the churches, nd even of the palace, afforded an excuse. In them the mass as attacked in scurrilous language, and the vices of the clergy ere exposed. Protestant writers have suggested that they were ontrivances of the ecclesiastical party to excite the people; and s the reformers had nothing to hope except from the favour of rancis, it seems unlikely that they should have thus wantonly rovoked him. If it were so, the desired effect took place. The umour was set abroad that the Huguenots had laid a plot to burn he city and massacre the Catholics. The dreadful cry, "Death o the heretics!" resounded in the streets. Orders were issued to eize the Protestants, dead or alive; and in a few days the prisons f the capital were crowded with victims of both sexes, and of all anks and ages. Their trials were soon over; and it was resolved o strike terror into the heart of the Huguenots of the whole kingdom, by a procession such as, in other countries, has since btained the name of an auto-da-fé. An innumerable concourse f people crowded the streets, covered the roofs, and hung upon the walls and balconies. Never had so many relics been paraded. The reliquiary of the Saint Chapelle was then first brought out. Then followed the head of Saint Louis—a piece of the true cross —the true crown of thorns, a real nail, and the spear-head which had pierced our Lord. Then came St. Genevieve, the patron saint of Paris. The cardinals, archbishops, and bishops took their places in their robes The king in person followed them, bareheaded, and carrying a lighted torch. The nobility, burgesses, and parliament closed the procession. The king, seated on the throne, at the palace of the archbishop, made an address to the court and clergy. He protested that he would not pardon the crime of heresy, even in his children. His reli-

gious frenzy had evidently been worked up to the highest point If one of his own limbs was infected, his own hand, he said, should cut it off. On his return to the Louvre, he witnessed the horrible scene to which the procession was the prelude. Six of the Huguenots were executed. The boldest of them had their tongues cut out, to hinder their dying words, so contagious among the witnesses on previous occasions of the same kind. They were then put to death by the *estrapade*, a moveable gibbet, which, alternately rising and falling, plunged the victim into a fire or raised him aloft into the air. An ordinance was published which decreed the extermination of the heretics, and pain of death to those who should conceal them.

But cruel as the persecution was in other parts of France, it was quite thrown into the shade by the massacres of Merindole and Cabrières. The inhabitants, descendants of the ancient Vaudois, who had taken refuge amongst the mountains of Dauphiny, had no sooner heard of the reformation at Meaux, than they declared the Huguenots their brethren, and their faith the same. A decree, dated the 18th of November, 1540, ordered that they should be exterminated as rebels, their goods confiscated, their houses destroyed, and even their plantations dug up. Everything was horrible and cruel, says the historian De Thou, in the sentence pronounced against them, and everything was still more horrible and more cruel in the execution. Twenty-two towns or villages were burned or sacked, with an inhumanity of which the history of the most barbarous people hardly presents examples. The unfortunate inhabitants, surprised during the night, and pursued from rock to rock by the light of the fire which consumed their dwellings, escaped one snare only to fall into another. The pitiful cries of the old men, the women, and the children, far from softening the hearts of the soldiers, mad with rage, like their leaders, only served to point out the places whither to direct their fury. Voluntary surrender did not exempt the men from execution, nor the women from excesses of brutality which make nature blush. At Cabrières, one of the principal towns of the canton, they murdered more than seven hundred men in cold blood, and the women who had remained in their houses were shut up in a barn filled with straw, to which they set fire; those who made their escape were forced back at the point of the sword. Finally, according to the tenor of the

sentence, the houses were razed, the woods cut down, and the fruit-trees pulled up. In a short time the country, hitherto so populous and so fertile, became a desert without inhabitants. Maimbourg says, in describing the massacre, that above nine hundred houses were plundered and destroyed, above three thousand persons slaughtered. The executions were committed to the Baron d'Oppede, who was summoned before the parliament of Paris, when the murmurs of public indignation made it convenient to cast the odium upon the agents. D'Oppede defended himself with courage and eloquence; he admitted the accusation in full, and justified his conduct by the orders of the king and the instructions of the cardinal. At this crisis Francis I. died, and was succeeded by his son Henry II.

But Protestantism was by no means subdued. The court was distracted with violent and selfish factions. The party of Montmorency and that of the duke of Guise were both hostile to the reformed faith, and equally hostile to one another. The Huguenots had some countenance even from princes of the blood, and amongst the nobility. In the remote provinces a large proportion of the nobles entertained the new opinions. It was calculated that nearly a sixth of the whole population was infected with them; and this was the case, not only in the south, but in every part of France: in Normandy, Picardy, and Flanders, as well as Languedoc and Dauphiny. All the great towns, Rouen, Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Montpelier, abounded with them. Many of the ecclesiastics forsook the Church of Rome. The seculars engaged in business, the regular clergy taught the doctrines of the reformers. The Bible and religious books printed at Geneva were distributed in vast numbers by the colporteurs. One of these, in 1546, was taken at Paris, broken on the wheel, and burned. But his execution, far from deterring others, merely served to show them by what agency the reformation could be carried on most effectually. Père Chapot reasoned so well upon the scaffold in favour of his principles that the doctors of the Sorbonne made a formal complaint that, were the heretics allowed to speak, all would be lost. The parliament resolved that all the condemned, without exception, should for the future have their tongues cut out. Henry began his reign determined to carry out his father's resolution and exterminate the heretics; he even disputed with one of them, like our own Henry VIII.

with Lambert, and afterwards went to enjoy the spectacle of his opponent in the flames. In 1551 appeared the edict of Chateaubriant; it placed the Calvinists under the secular jurisdiction, and for a time stopped in some degree the violence of persecution. Whether it was intended to relieve or oppress them is disputed; it is certain that it was soon construed to their disadvantage. The ecclesiastical judges still took cognizance of heresy, now made a crime in the secular courts, so that the accused, though acquitted before one tribunal, were liable to be punished by another. The pope was anxious to establish the inquisition in France, and despatched a bull to that effect in 1557; the king even confirmed it by an edict. But the parliament of Paris, and the laity, resisted, and the scheme failed.

Hitherto the Protestants in France had not existed as a Church. They had no fixed pastors, no regular form of government. In deference to Calvin, they preferred rather to omit the sacraments than to receive them at the hands of laymen or an irregular ministry, and this state of things continued for nearly thirty years. At length, in 1558, it was resolved, in the face of imminent dangers, to convoke a general synod at Paris, as the most convenient town for a secret meeting of a large number of ministers and elders. The difficulty of effecting the project was great, but thirteen churches sent their deputies: Paris, St. Lô, Dieppe, Angers, Orleans, Tours, Poitiers, Saintés, Marennes, Châtellerault, St. Jean d'Angely. These delegates assembled under the presidency of the pastor François Morel, and the Lord of Collonges, the 25th of May, 1559. The French Protestant Church was then organized. The confession of faith adopted was that of Helvetia, and the form of Church government that of Geneva, with a few necessary alterations. Wherever there was a sufficient number of Protestants they constituted themselves a church, by naming a consistory, choosing a minister, and establishing discipline. The consistory was elected at first by the whole congregation, and afterwards completed by the suffrages of its own members; but the new elections were submitted to the whole congregation for its approval, and if any opposition arose the determination was finally left to the provincial synod. Every member of the congregation, or church, was eligible for the consistory. The pastors were elected by the colloquy, or parochial consistory. The newly-chosen minister preached during three



ecutive Sundays. The silence of the people was held to ify their consent. If any dissatisfaction was expressed, the es of the minister was decided by the synod, from which e was no further appeal. A certain number of churches ied a colloquy, each church being represented by a pastor an elder. These colloquies assembled twice a year at least, their office was to arrange any difficulties that arose; and, erally, to provide for the welfare of the flocks. The provincial ods were also composed of a pastor and elder from each rch; they assembled at least once a year. They decided upon tever had not been settled in the colloquies, and upon all r important matter within their province. Their number varied, but in general was about sixteen. Lastly, there was national synod, which was to assemble once every year, but ng to the calamities which the Church endured, it was scarcely possible to bring it into action. It has scarcely existed ex- in theory. It was composed of two pastors and two elders n each synod, and was the supreme ecclesiastical court. Its berations began by reading the confession of faith, which was rded as unalterable; it then proceeded to take cognizance of Church affairs which required its adjudication. The Church ned the right of inflicting punishment on offenders, and of mmunicating the impenitent. Thus in its constitution it was sbyterian, but it had some features in common with the Inde- dents of the sixteenth century. Its spirit was fearless; it w no distinctions except those of piety. Men of the highest k were obliged to make public confession of their offences n they fell beneath its censure, or submit to excommunica- ; and Henry IV., when king of Navarre, submitted to it on e than one occasion.

The Protestant Church was thus completed. Its numbers in- sed, and now, indeed, embraced no inconsiderable part of nce. Paris was resolute for the ancient faith, but in the pro- es "those of the religion" were often the majority. Public ship was established in the great towns and in many of the ntry parishes. In some places the whole population passed ; and with them the churches were transformed into Protestant ples. There were occasional acts of violence, as in all great ges where the people act without wise leaders; and superstiti- s monuments were destroyed with probably but little regard

to the feelings of the priesthood and their party. The nation was divided. More than one-half the great families of the kingdom professed the new doctrines. The king of Navarre and his brother, the prince of Condé, were the Protestant leaders, joined, about this time, by a name more renowned than either, the illustrious Coligny. On the other side were Henry II., Francis II., successive kings of France; and, upon the premature death of the latter in 1560, Charles IX., who was urged on to the most severe measures by the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, the Guises, always the firm supporters of the Roman Catholic cause, and the ecclesiastics of high rank who thronged the court, and, prompted by Rome, were always clamouring for the suppression of heresy. The parliament of Paris had begun to show some signs of hesitation, for it was not of the nature of such bodies to wish the power of the court and clergy absolute, and they themselves were now no longer free from Calvinism. Ann-Dubourg distinguished himself by the courage with which he defended the new opinions. Henry II., in 1559, invited his counsellors, in an extraordinary court, termed a bed of justice, frankly to advise with him on the perils of the nation. Dubourg fell into the snare. Invited to speak openly, he urged a national council for the settlement of their religious differences, and declaimed upon the sins of the court. The king was attended by the constable, the duke of Guise, the Cardinals of Lorraine and Bourbon, and a crowd of the nobility. "While men are conducted to the stake for the sole crime of praying for their prince, a shameful license encourages blasphemy and perjury, adultery and debaucheries." The remark was felt to apply to the king himself, and he resolved to have his revenge. He arose in a violent passion, and uttered a torrent of reproaches against those who had called for lenient measures. On leaving the place, he was observed to make a sign to one of his officers, and to direct a fierce look towards Dubourg and four others. They were immediately arrested in the parliament and conducted to prison. The destruction of the reformed religion was resolved upon; the prisons were crowded; the king gave orders that Dubourg and the rest should be tried for heresy—he wished to see him burnt with his own eyes, but his own death, which happened in a tournament, prevented the fulfilment of his thirst for blood, and gave Dubourg a respite. It was but a short one. Five months

afterwards the young king, Francis II., a mere child of six years of age, was put forward by the court party to accomplish the destruction of its enemies. A military procession was formed; the enthusiasm of the citizens was raised to the highest pitch against the heretics, and, amidst their execrations, calm and cheerful, Dubourg was strangled and burnt on the Place du Grève, on Christmas eve, 1559. Frightful executions (from their number deserving of the name of *massacres*, as the reformers termed them) took place all over France; but the Reformation gained strength, and the reformers, despairing of justice, became desperate. It was evident that, unless a compromise could be effected, the question of the future religion of France would be submitted to the arbitration of the sword. The Protestants were too many, and too united, to allow their ranks to be thinned by the hand of the executioner.

At this crisis the States-general were called together, in 1560, immediately on the accession of Charles IX. The new king was only ten years old. The two factions of the court were about equal in force; but as the king of Navarre was appointed Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, the balance seemed to incline in favour of the Huguenots. The queen-mother was ambitious to govern both parties, and therefore to side with neither; and by her the king was absolutely governed. The States-general were in favour of a tolerant legislation in matters of religion; and the Roman Catholic writers of the time express great apprehensions that Calvinism would prevail. "Heresy," says the Jesuit Fleury, "was seen to enter triumphantly into the palace of the most Christian king; and it may be said that there it exercised complete sway. The queen permitted ministers to preach in the royal apartments, which were thronged; while a poor Jacobin, who preached the Lent sermons at Fontainbleau, had no audience. The whole court seemed Calvinist; and meat was served at all the tables during Lent. No one talked of hearing mass; and the young king, who was taken to church for the sake of appearances, went almost alone. The pope's authority was ridiculed, the worship of saints, images, &c., was treated as superstition; and, to sum up, the edict in favour of the Huguenots prevented any one from being troubled on account of religion." The edict in question, generally called the edict of July, relieved the Protestants from the punishment of death, but forbade them to

assemble for public worship. The States-general, even when disinclined to the new opinions, were anxious for a reformation of the abuses of the Church. Their measures very soon aroused the suspicion of the clergy and the opposition of the pope. They determined upon summoning a conference of the divines on both sides, where the great questions at issue might be calmly discussed. This the papal faction could not prevent: they used their influence successfully to make it nugatory. Theodore Beza, assisted by Marloratus and Peter Martyr, was the leader of the Protestants. Tournon, cardinal of Lorraine, with four cardinals and forty bishops, appeared on behalf of the Church of Rome. The eucharist, as usual, was the grand point in debate. It was argued on the one side by the Cardinal of Lorraine and on the other by Beza. The cardinal was an expert controversialist; he was aware of the radical distinction between the Lutheran and the Calvinist Churches, and hoped to embarrass his opponent by obliging him to admit the real presence or to condemn the Lutheran Churches; and he concluded by demanding, "Do you, like the Lutherans, admit consubstantiation?" "And do you," answered Beza, "like them, reject transubstantiation?" The reformers complained that they were treated unfairly at the conference of Poissy; and certainly the signs of respect freely accorded to the Roman Catholic clergy were withheld from them. They were obliged to kneel and ask permission to speak, and to remain standing. Their opponents sat on chairs of state, and were permitted to interrupt and browbeat the speakers on the other side. Still, they made a great impression: some of the opposing bishops were shaken by Beza's arguments. The queen-mother wrote to the pope on behalf of the Huguenots. "Those of the reformed," she said, "are neither anabaptists or libertines; they believe the twelve articles of the apostles' creed; therefore many people think that they ought not to be cut off from communion with the Church. What danger could there be in taking away the images from the churches, and retrenching some useless forms in the administration of the sacraments? It would be, further, very beneficial to allow to all the communion in both kinds; and to permit divine service to be performed in the vulgar tongue. For other matters, they are agreed that there shall be no innovation in the doctrine or discipline; and that they constantly preserve for the sovereign

pontiff the respect and obedience that is due to him." The pope answered by writing to his legate in Paris to spare no efforts to strengthen the Catholic party. He offered the kingdom of Sardinia to the king of Navarre as the price of his desertion of the Huguenots. The bribe was irresistible: he forsook the Huguenots, compelled his consort to discontinue the preaching which had been held at his residence, and in a short time, by his cruelty, compelled her to withdraw from his palace. He became, in a short time, a bitter persecutor. The Protestants were irritated, and in several places blood was shed. They broke into the church of Saint Metard in consequence of some insult offered to their worship, and committed great outrages. Images were destroyed, and several were killed in the fray. An edict, however, was obtained in 1562 permitting the exercise of public worship under certain limitations; they were commanded, at the same time, to restore the churches they had seized upon, as well as the relics and images of which they had deprived them. The parliament of Paris refused to register the edict, and the Catholic party received it with gloomy silence. Coligny perceived that a civil war was inevitable, and, as a measure of precaution, allied himself more closely with the prince of Condé, and induced him to make a public profession of the Protestant religion at Paris. Under the two leaders the Huguenots took fresh courage, and even in the capital their congregations at this time amounted to fifty thousand souls. The Roman Catholic party wrote to the duke of Guise to come to their assistance. The queen herself, they said, was favouring the Huguenots. He obeyed their summons with alacrity, and on the first of March, 1562, arrived at Vassy, a small town in the Haute Marne, about sixty miles east of Paris, just as the Huguenots were performing divine service. He expressed great indignation; and his followers hastening to the spot where they were assembled, assailed them with insults and abuse. Both parties soon came to blows, and Guise's soldiers rushed into the building where the meeting was held, sword in hand, killing the women, children, and old men. The duke hearing of the tumult went to appease it, and received a blow upon his face with a stone; he retired to have it dressed, leaving his soldiers to pursue the massacre. They spared neither age nor sex; the carnage ceased, says the Abbé D'Anquetil, only on account of the multitude killed and wounded. (Esprit de la

Ligue.) Similar excesses were committed at Toulouse, Sens, Amiens, and Tours. At the latter place three hundred Protestants were shut up without food during three days; then tied together two by two, and led to a slaughter-house, where they were murdered in different ways. At Sens, during three successive days, the bells of the cathedral called the inhabitants to the slaughter of the Huguenots. The fanaticism was intense. Even the vines which belonged to Protestants were rooted up. The duke of Guise entered Paris with the splendour of a sovereign; he had a brilliant escort of two thousand gentlemen; the different trades interrupted his progress with complimentary harangues, which were drowned in the shouts of thronging multitudes. The prince of Condé also returned to Paris, but the people were against him. Paris was not safe; he quitted the city and retired to Meaux; and here he assembled forces. The queen had written to him and Coligny for assistance, and they marched with a vast number of the Huguenots to Fontainebleau, whither she had retired with the young king. But Guise was beforehand with them: he seized the queen-mother and the king; conveyed them to Vincennes, and thence to Paris. The Protestant places of worship in the capital were immediately destroyed, and every kind of insult heaped upon the Huguenots. In fact, the religious wars had now begun, which devastated France for forty years, and terminated only when the Huguenots were crushed.

It is difficult to compress the history of the religious wars; and still more difficult to relate the history of the French Protestants without making the reader acquainted with their various turns of fortune. Each of the contending parties sought foreign succour. The Spaniards and the pope came to the assistance of the court and the Catholics; while Queen Elizabeth of England sent over six thousand men to aid the Protestants, who also obtained further succours from the Low Countries. The queen-mother seized the pretext which the introduction of foreign troops afforded her, deserted the Huguenots, and became their most vindictive enemy. At first Condé, whom the Huguenots appointed commander-in-chief, was successful: a number of large towns and the whole of Normandy fell into his hands. Charles, by the treaty of Chateau-Cambresis, engaged himself with Philip of Spain to the extirpation of heresy; and, under the duke of Alva, the Spanish army

entered France to crush the Huguenots on their way, but with a view to ulterior operations in the Low Countries. Rouen was taken by storm, though defended by an English reinforcement of two thousand men; but the victory cost the king of Navarre his life. He died deploring his apostacy, and expressing his determination if he lived to assist the Protestants. The battle of Dreux followed under the walls of Paris. It was fought for seven hours with terrible ferocity. There were twenty-one thousand royalists and ten thousand Huguenots; at night, eight thousand lay dead on the field. The prince of Condé was taken prisoner by the royalists; whose loss was compensated by the capture of the constable of France and the death of Marshal Saint André. Soon after, in February 1563, the duke of Guise was assassinated by Poltro, a Protestant, who thus avenged the massacre of Vassy. He defended the action as a legitimate reprisal. When under the torture he implicated Coligny, who immediately wrote to the queen demanding a safe-conduct, that he might confront his accuser. It was clear that the charge was false, for the court hastened the execution of the assassin. He was mangled with hot pincers, and torn to pieces by four horses. The war on both sides became ferocious. After a brief suspense, when a compromise had been in vain attempted, in 1567, the battle of Saint Denis was fought; and here the constable Montmorency fell. The royal army outnumbered their opponents, and the field and the spoil were theirs. A few days after the battle the Huguenots took dreadful reprisals for the cruelties they had so long endured. At first they observed a rigid discipline. In their camps there was no gaming, no profaneness, no pillage. Beza relates that, besides ordinary sermons and prayers, there were extraordinary general prayers at six in the morning, and again at four in the evening; but this discipline did not last. Coligny was an old commander. "This discipline," he said, "is a noble thing as long as it lasts, but I fear they will throw down all their piety at once. I have commanded soldiers, and I know them; they often fulfil the proverb, out of a young hermit grows an old devil." At Nismes a number of Roman Catholics were inhumanly butchered; according to their writers the Protestants were the aggressors, and their crime was altogether unprovoked. But the Protestant writers have not attempted to extenuate the charge. Calvin wrote to express his abhorrence of such conduct; and the leader

was disgraced and died a Roman Catholic. It is worthy of remark, that a Roman Catholic historian (Menard, Hist. de Nismes) has in some degree mitigated the accusations of his co-religionists. "They did no harm to the wives of the Catholics; their animosity was directed against priests, monks, heads of families; and they selected as victims only those who had molested them." But the piety of the reformers no doubt had suffered much. Contrasted with the profligacy of the court, or even the irregularities of the Romish clergy, they were still comparatively pure. But the fervour and piety of the reformation had declined. Many were mere soldiers, making religion a pretext. Others, once religious men, were full of the schemes of avarice and ambition. In 1568, a peace was made at Longjumeau; it lasted but six months, and was unsatisfactory to both parties. Arms were taken up, and the battle of Garnac was fought, where the Huguenots were beaten and Condé fell. Coligny was beaten at Moncontour; the parliament of Paris declared him a traitor and a felon, and offered fifty thousand crowns for his body either dead or living. Pope Pius V. wrote to Charles IX., imploring him "to stifle every tie of blood or affection, and extirpate the roots of heresy to the last fibres." Coligny he described as a detestable, infamous and execrable man, if indeed he deserved the name of man. The Huguenot cause seemed to be on the eve of destruction, if not already lost. But suddenly they were in the field, with Coligny, scarcely recovered from wounds which he had received at the battle of Garnac, at their head. He met the royal army at Arnay-le-Duc. Here he was victorious; he was even in a condition to march on Paris. The court was overwhelmed with astonishment, and both parties were anxious for peace. A treaty was completed at St. Germains on the 15th of August 1576. It included a general amnesty, the free exercise of the reformed religion in the suburbs of two towns in each province, and some concessions of inferior note. In addition to these advantageous terms, the Protestants were allowed to hold four towns as security for the full observance of the treaty; viz. Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and la Charité. The Protestants on their side were bound by oath to surrender them at the end of two years. Coligny signed the peace with the highest satisfaction; "rather than fall back again into these disorders," he exclaimed, "I would die a thousand deaths and be dragged through

the streets of Paris." But the Roman Catholics complained that it was unjust and shameful to make peace with rebels. And the pope wrote to the cardinals of Bourbon and Lorraine, calling upon them to do their duty, and defend the Church: "it is especially to be feared," said he, "that God may inflict a judgment on the king himself, and on all those who have taken part in this negotiation." There is every reason to believe that, in connexion with the king and queen of France, he was already preparing the events which followed.

The Protestant leaders had retired from the capital, and were now dispersed through the country, living quietly upon their estates. The queen of Navarre was at Rochelle and Coligny at his chateau. Every stratagem was used to draw them to Paris, and the greatest anxiety was shown, by loading them with courtesies, to win the confidence of those at court. The king was profuse in his professions of warm attachment, and seemed beside himself with joy on account of the peace. Some excesses were committed at Rouen against the Huguenots, and the constable himself was sent to chastise the offenders; and every infraction of the treaty was severely punished. A marriage was proposed between the son of the queen of Navarre and the king's sister: and (probably with a view to amuse the Protestants, or, if it should succeed, to break up the English alliance,) a marriage was projected between the duke of Anjou, the king's brother, and Queen Elizabeth. Coligny, the queen of Navarre, and other leaders were thus drawn to Paris. The queen of Navarre gave an unwilling consent to her son's marriage, and died a few weeks afterwards: the general opinion throughout France was that she had been poisoned. The historian Davila says, that poisoned gloves were the means used for her destruction. The marriage however took place, chiefly through the urgency of Coligny, who seemed to his own friends to have become all at once infatuated. His wife had in vain remonstrated against his return to Paris, dreading as she did the duplicity of the queen. The baron de Rosny, father of the great Sully, entertained the most unfavourable presentiments after the death of the queen of Navarre. "If it takes place at Paris, the wedding favours will be crimson," he said.

In short, a frightful resolution had been taken to extirpate the Protestants by one general massacre. To whom the guilt of

this atrocious act belongs, and in what proportions it is to be distributed amongst the several guilty parties, has long been a subject of keen discussion. A recent French writer resolves it into a sudden burst of fanaticism, originating with the mob of Paris. Dr. Lingard, on behalf of the Church of Rome, endeavours to show that the pope was not privy to it. Charles IX. has met with apologists on the score of youth, and a too confiding temper, which allowed him to be governed by the queen-mother; and, from the first, some writers have been found to represent it as a mere act of self-defence against a murderous and treasonable plot of the Huguenots, which was unexpectedly betrayed. Into the discussion of this preliminary question we can enter no further than to remark that the premeditation of the massacre cannot be seriously denied; indeed, it is admitted by the French Roman Catholic writers of that age, Maimbourg, De Thou (Thuanus), Mezeray, and others; and that the Italian historians, Davila and others, not only admit that the plan was laid before hand, but extol the secrecy of the measure as well as its success. The chief movers were, unquestionably, Catherine de Medicis, the Cardinal de Lorraine, and the duke de Guise, all of whom were Italians. The Marshal de Tavannes was the only Frenchman who took a part in originating the measure, the king and the duke of Anjon being mere puppets in the hands of Catherine and the cardinal. Montmorency refused to participate in a measure so abhorrent to the nature of a gallant soldier. He left Paris in horror, on the first intimation of the intended massacre, and his name was placed among the proscribed in consequence. Many of the nobility in the provinces refused to embrue their hands in the blood of their countrymen. It is not without reason that a recent French historian represents his countrymen as the mere instruments, fanatically excited to the commission of what he terms "the Italian crime."

The marriage of the king of Navarre was celebrated on the 18th of August 1572. On the 22nd Coligny was fired at by an assassin who escaped on one of the king's horses, and, though well known, was never brought to justice. Coligny was infatuated still. He would not allow himself to be removed from Paris; he would not listen to the fears expressed by his friends that the king was false, and that mischief was designed against the Protestants. Charles carried his dissimulation so far as to visit



the admiral and affect the deepest abhorrence of the crime. The Court was disconcerted; it had reckoned on the certain death of Coligny which was to have been the signal for the massacre, and an assassin had been employed whose hand was seldom known to fail. But Coligny still lived and the Huguenots had taken the alarm. It was feared they might escape the toils. The king too had moments of remorse, and it was with difficulty he could be forced on to sanction a proceeding so atrocious. He was at length worked up to a pitch of fury. The queen implored him to preserve her and the duke of Anjou from the vengeance of the Huguenots; who accused them, and with too much truth, of the attempt upon Coligny. The Cardinal De Retz assured him that the duke of Guise, nay, that he himself, was denounced for slaughter. Couriers, he was told, were already on their way to demand assistance for his rebellious subjects from the Protestant States of Germany. Another civil war was at hand, and his crown would be lost. Thus he was goaded forwards, and became the most ferocious of the party which he led.

At midnight on Saturday the 23rd of August the work of death began. An hour earlier than the time appointed the great bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois tolled; for the queen, distrusting the resolution of her son, had sent to hurry on the signal. Armed bands of citizens and troops of soldiers, each wearing a strip of white linen on the arm, or a white cross in the hat, rushed into the streets and fell upon the slaughter. Coligny was the first victim, he was stabbed repeatedly in his bed, calmly remonstrating, and thrown through the window before life was extinguished. His head was severed by the order of the duke of Guise, who first wiped the face with his handkerchief to assure himself that he was not mistaken in his victim; it was dragged through the streets by a rope and then hung upon a gallows. The horrors of the night, and of the following three days, we make no attempt to picture. Paris exhibited an appalling spectacle. The streets resounded with the crash of musketry, the shrieks of the dying and the shouts and blasphemies of the murderers. To escape was impossible. The gates of the city were shut; bands of assassins patrolled every street, and broke into every house and every chamber. The ways were literally impassable from the number of the dead.

The Huguenots rushed wildly to the Louvre for safety, still hoping to find protection near the king. The guards put all to death with their halberts, one by one, in the most deliberate manner. Even in the palace they were hunted from room to room and killed in the passages. The young queen of Navarre had retired to rest ignorant of the intended slaughter. She was awoke by a loud knocking at the door of her chamber. Her maid opened it, and a man rushed in and flung himself upon her bed, covered with blood, and pursued by four soldiers. It was with difficulty she obtained his life. She hastened to the apartments of her sister and saw a gentleman massacred close beside her in the passage. The king himself, seeing the Huguenots in the gardens, seized a weapon and fired upon his own defenceless subjects; and the ladies of his Court with unnatural barbarity went into the court-yard to examine and count over the dead bodies! It was remarked that of so many brave men, who had a hundred times faced death upon the field of battle, there was only one, and he a civilian, who attempted to defend himself. The rest died making no resistance. A crime so monstrous seemed to paralyze their minds. It was determined to extirpate the name of the reformed. Even the two princes of Bourbon blood were included in the number of the victims, but the queen hesitated, and they were spared. On Sunday morning the king sent for them—Henry of Navarre and the prince of Condé—exclaiming fiercely, "The mass, death, or the Bastille." They made a recantation, which nobody believed to be sincere: but their lives were spared.

Coligny's infatuation—for we can call it nothing less—blinded him to the danger which was obvious to all the more prudent Huguenots of his party. He had, indeed, the charity that believeth all things. But the vilest duplicity had been practised in order to lull his apprehensions. Charles made him a visit after he was first wounded in the streets, and said to him, "O, my father! the wound is yours, and the pain is mine; but I swear that I will visit this act with such vengeance that it shall never be effaced from the memory of man." These words calmed the admiral's suspicions, although he had already received repeated advice to fly. On the evening of the same day the king held in court a council to deliberate upon the general massacre of the Protestants.

The admiral, as we have said, was the first victim. At the approach of the assassins he exclaimed to his household: "My friends, I command you to fly; for myself, I have been a long time prepared for death. I commend myself to the mercy of God. I would die to the Lord; He has elected me to the hope of life eternal; His presence is sufficient for me." After the assassins had done their work, and his mangled body had been dragged through the streets, and afterwards burnt to ashes, the head, it is said, was sent to Rome by the queen-mother, Catherine de Médicis. The slaughter continued, without intermission, day and night. The young and old, the laity and the Protestant clergy, girls, and matrons, and little children, all shared the same fate. Thus were six thousand Protestants of all ranks killed in the capital; then they celebrated a jubilee to return thanks to God for the success of such a work. "Many bells were ringing the signal of carnage," says Lacretelle the younger; "nothing but insubordination reigned amongst this nation of executioners; the most infamous banditti marched side by side with the dukes of Anjou and Montpensier, descendants of St. Louis. Encomiums, which in battle are the prize of the bravest, were here the recompense of the most cruel—of him who could longest support the fatigue of slaughter: women and young maidens were not spared; rape preceded murder; children were even slaying their little companions, sons of Huguenots. Compassion for heretics was deemed a crime equal to heresy; none were saved, but by fraud. With white crosses in their hats, chaplets, scapularies, images of the virgin tied about their neck, a torch in one hand, and in the other a dagger, an axe, an arquebus, or a club; amid the sounds of litanies, intermingled with blasphemies and licentious songs, the report of firearms, the cries of frantic mirth, and the groans of the suffering, troops of assassins trampling on the mutilated remains of the dead, met and cheered each other on to the work of destruction and carnage; assisted each other in forcing the gates of the best-defended hotels, sharing in no small booty, and wresting it from each other. Some, like open and avowed robbers, bearing to their houses the fruits of their bloody rapine; others, with ferocious honesty, deposited their share either in the vestry, the Louvre, or at the feet of the king. They barricaded the streets with chains to prevent the Protestants from escaping, and those

they had not been able to surprise in their beds, they pursued upon the house-tops."

On Thursday, the 28th, a proclamation was issued in which the king declared himself the author of the massacre. The same day the clergy of Paris celebrated an extraordinary jubilee, and made a procession through the city. As the news spread through the provinces, the massacre was renewed from place to place, and the horrors which the capital had witnessed were repeated. At Meaux, Angers, Bourges, Orleans, Toulouse, the scenes were frightful; and most of the small towns, villages, and even the chateaux, were filled with blood. At Lyons the Guises had a strong party, and here the worst ferocity was displayed. According to some, eight hundred, but by the computation of others fifteen, or even eighteen, hundred perished. The peasantry on the banks of the Rhone, through Dauphine and Provence, were shocked by the sight of so many corpses floating down the stream, horribly mutilated. "At Lyons," wrote Capilupi, an officer in the pope's household, "thanks to the excellent order and singular prudence of the governor, all the Huguenots were taken one after the other, like sheep." Here the atrocities of Paris were almost excelled. M. de Mandelat, the governor, closed the gates on receiving information of the massacre of Paris. The guards were reinforced and the approaches guarded, and the unhappy Huguenots were aware that their hour was come. They were forbidden to leave the city, or to go out from house to house. When the next night came they were dragged into the streets and assassinated, and their bodies were thrown into the river. Their three ministers were seized and slaughtered with circumstances of the utmost inhumanity. Crispin, or Escrivain, a Huguenot of those days, whose brother was a martyr, describes the horrible scene of which he was a witness: and Lacretelle and other French historians have repeated his touching narrative. "On Friday," he says, "the 29th of August, Du Perat, citizen of Lyons, arrived from court. Then a proclamation was published throughout the city by sound of trumpet, that the Protestants were to repair to the governor's house to hear the king's pleasure. The greater part, too credulous, went to the appointed place, from whence they were soon after conveyed to the common prison, some to the archbishop's palace, some to the Celestine convents, or to the Franciscan, and other ecclesias-

tical houses, capable of containing so large a number. The night had hardly commenced when the lamentations and cries of those who were being massacred within doors mingled with the groans of the dying, whom they were dragging to the river; and above all rose the horrible shrieks of women, and the cries of children, who saw themselves covered with their parent's blood. Amongst other victims on this fatal day was Martin Genou, brassfounder by trade, who, although he was suffering from a broken thigh, was lifted from his bed and carried in a sheet to the Rhone and thrown in. He gained a boat by swimming; but at the instant that he was attempting to grapple it they hacked off his hands, and struck him severely with a pole, to make him leave hold and fall back into the water.

"On Sunday, August 31, about eight o'clock in the morning, the massacre of the remainder of those who had been imprisoned in the monastery of the Franciscan monks was concluded. Many craved permission to pray to God before dying; but their savage executioners, instead of granting their request, struck them with the sword: and when these unfortunate creatures, on bended knees, were lifting up their hands to heaven, they hacked off their fingers and cut off their noses, mocking and mangling them, taking pleasure in seeing them thus die by degrees. Many bound together by one cord were thrown into the river. From this hour the whole city was like a slaughter-house. It seemed as if the gates of hell were opened, and the demons let loose to fall upon their victims. Mornieu, one of the chief executioners, delivered Lazarus Bardot, royal sergeant, into the hands of John Vernay, his sworn enemy, who instantly despatched him. This same day, about one o'clock, the Penons received orders to take each of them twenty-five armed men and twelve porters, and to conduct them to St. George's gate, near the archbishop's palace, where the greatest number of prisoners were confined, and where the great massacre was to take place. The keys of the palace were delivered to those who were eagerly presenting themselves to perform the office of executioners; for the public executioner of the place refused to take part in this infernal work, saying that there were but too many executioners of the kind they wanted. And the soldiers, too, had declared that they were resolved not to disgrace the military profession by an act fit only for butchers and slaughterers of oxen.

[redacted] captain of the arquebusiers of the [redacted] in the afternoon, with an [redacted]. As soon as he had entered the [redacted] the prisoners, 'You must die!' then [redacted] 'Comrades, [redacted] to business.' He [redacted] to enjoy the [redacted] The assassins fell furiously upon their victims, that [redacted] Almost all of them were [redacted] prayer, except a few young men [redacted] These made some resistance, and some officers, [redacted] with their halberds, with the blades of [redacted] Amongst those who confessed [redacted] was a hatter, named [redacted] together with his two sons, [redacted] He fell dead in the fire of his brethren, [redacted] with the warm blood that spouted from [redacted] while he heard encouraging his two sons to die [redacted] 'My children,' said he to them, 'that [redacted] believers, to be hated, [redacted] as the meek sheep among wolves. Be not troubled at the sight of these swords; they will but [redacted] pass safely over from this miserable life to the [redacted] We have lived long enough amongst the [redacted] to live with our God!'" When he saw the murderers [redacted] he embraced his two sons, and they also in their turn embraced their father: "as if the father," says Crispin, "had wished to serve as a shield to his children, and as if the children, by a natural impulse, were desirous to ward off the blows directed against their father at the peril of their own lives." After the massacre, all three were found locked in each other's arms.

"The executioners having finished their slaughter, and stripped the dead bodies, proceeded to the king's prison, called Roanne, to do the same work there, when God willed to repress the rage of Satan, and employed the governor himself to stop the carnage. In fact, this magistrate, having learned that the massacre was about to begin at the archbishop's palace, repaired without delay to the place: as he had not yet lost all sense of humanity, he was seized with horror at the sight of so much human blood, and revoked the order he had given but a few moments before, that

they should go to Roanne, and despatch the prisoners there. He caused it at the same time to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet that whosoever knew the authors of the crimes committed, and would bring them to justice, should receive a hundred crowns' reward. Meantime the assassins were walking about the city, exhibiting their white doublets sprinkled with blood, and boasting of having killed some a hundred, some more, some less." At Toulouse the gates were closed, with the exception of a postern, and the Protestants watched. Some of them, it was found, were absent, and in order to induce them to return, and to quiet the misgivings of the rest, a prohibition against molestation to any of *the religion* was published by sound of trumpet :—It was true there had been an outrage at Paris, but it arose out of a private quarrel, and at Toulouse the Protestants were safe. Many of them, still hiding themselves, from fear, the troops broke into their houses, seized them, and imprisoned them for three weeks, when orders arrived from Paris for their execution. The next day, before sunrise, two students, with a few of the rabble armed with axes and swords, proceeded to the prison by order of the advocate-general, and murdered them one by one as they descended the steps, to the number of three hundred; their bodies lay exposed and stripped two days, and were thrown into the ditch. Five councillors were hanged in their robes before the palace, and their bodies abandoned to pillage. The number of the sufferers through the whole of France is estimated by Perefixe, archbishop of Paris, at 100,000; by Sully, a Protestant, at 70,000. De Thou, a Roman Catholic, again, reduces them to 30,000; and Dr. Lingard, the modern Roman Catholic historian, endeavours to show that not more than 1,600 suffered. The statements of Perefixe or of Sully are unquestionably much nearer the truth. (See Browning's Hist. chap. 29.)

The Protestant nations of Europe received the dismal tidings with the deepest sorrow, the pope with exultation and transports of joy. The messenger was presented with a thousand pieces of gold, the guns of St. Angelo were fired, a jubilee declared, and a medal struck, bearing on one side the head of the pope, Gregory XIII., and on the other the destroying angel smiting the heretics. The inscription is "Huguenotorum strages, 1572." And the pope went in grand procession with the cardinals to offer thanksgivings, and hear a Te Deum for the triumph of the

[illegible] after all the Huguenots were not extinguished, [illegible] instead of coming to a close, was to begin again [illegible] still more intense. In the [illegible] themselves with all the fury of despair. [illegible] horror of the same description, the siege of [illegible] made for the valour of the Huguenots. It held [illegible] against the king, though the be- [illegible] and fought with slings. Upwards of five [illegible] including nearly all the children. The [illegible] an eyewitness, describes the sufferings of the [illegible]. They fed upon moles, snails, straw, and even the [illegible] "I have seen some served up at table," [illegible] the [illegible] the characters were visible." Rochelle suffered [illegible] severely; and to the extreme mortification of the [illegible] in both instances, the siege was raised. In Picardy and at Rouen the Protestants resumed their worship; in fact, the massacre of St. Bartholomew had served no other purpose than to widen the breach, and kindle amongst them a spirit of desperate resistance.

After the massacres, Charles IX. says Lacretelle, "Guerres de Religion," tom. ii., p. 337, appeared gloomy and thoughtful. All the felicitations of the court of Rome were unavailing; processions and spiritual songs could not calm his soul. He was seen continually plunged in that state of convulsion into which he had been thrown by the first sound of the signal-bell—with frantic step, quivering lips, and haggard bloodshot eyes. The massacre took place on the 24th of August, 1572; Charles IX. died, aged twenty-four, May 30th, 1574. His sickness was accompanied with such terrible symptoms as had never before been observed in cases of consumption. His chest was particularly affected, but blood flowed from all his pores. Frightful recollections troubled his thoughts, while lying on a bed ever bathed in blood—a bed from which in vain he strove to raise himself. His looks were often as wild as those of a man who believes himself pursued by avenging spirits. He still continually repeated, from the force of habit, those blasphemies which were wont to accompany all his words; then he would implore the mercy of God. His torments increased when he was sensible of his mother's approach; he trembled, and was dreadfully agitated to see her so tranquil after their common crime. He knew not whether he was falling

a sacrifice to the vengeance of God, or to the subtle attempts of his enemies, perhaps his mother, against his life. Did he conceive the most frightful suspicions, he would afterwards reproach himself. He interrogated his physicians, believing he saw in them a want of candour; he cursed them and cursed himself. He received no comfort from any conversations excepting those he held with his nurse. She was a Protestant, and he had prevented her from being included in the number of victims of St. Bartholomew's eve. "Ah, my friend," said he, "what a wicked counsel have I followed! O, my God! pardon me; have mercy on me. Where am I going? What shall I do? I know too well that I am lost!" Thus died Charles IX., at the early age of twenty-four, the victim of crime and of remorse.

He was succeeded by Henry III., an effeminate voluptuary and a slave of the priests. Still bent on the extermination of heresy, he was drawn by his counsellors into a scheme for uniting all good Catholics in one vast *League* for their destruction. This league, at the head of which Henry placed himself, was an agreement couched, at first, in moderate terms, which bound its members, in general, to support the royal authority, and, as to matters of religious difference, to abide by the decision of the States-general, to be convoked for that special purpose. Practically it became a formidable engine for the suppression of the Protestant faith, and exercised a great influence on the history of France for many years. War, of course, soon broke out. In 1577 a short peace succeeded; the terms were more favourable than the Protestants might have expected. It conceded the right of public worship, except in some few places, and defined the civil rights of "those of the religion," so, upon the whole, as to secure their persons from injury. They were allowed to celebrate marriages and baptisms, but they were still forbidden to claim any succession, direct or collateral, and they could inherit only personal property under any circumstances; but it was ill observed, and war again broke out in 1579: it raged with various success till the battle of Coutres, in 1587, where the king of Navarre, at the head of the Huguenots, destroyed the Roman Catholic general, the duc de Joyeuse, and half his army. Henry was himself assassinated by a monk in 1589; and the king of Navarre, his legitimate successor, as Henry IV., stepped into the throne.

The Protestants of France exulted that a professor of their own religion was at length their king. It was only reasonable to expect from a Huguenot king protection for the Huguenots. A long series of insults and persecutions seemed about to close for ever, perhaps to be succeeded by honours and preferment. But the Protestant Church of France, always, to human eyes, unfortunate, was doomed once more to disappointment. The Roman Catholics were the dominant party in the state. They used all their influence to persuade the king to retract his heresy and become a member of the true Church. They so far succeeded as to induce him to make the foolish promise to study the controversy for six months, and then determine what should be his religion for the future. The ultra-Romanists, the men of the League, set up a rival sovereign in the person of the Cardinal Bourbon. Instead of assisting his old comrades, Henry IV. found it difficult to maintain his own rights. France was again embroiled, and, this time, it was a war not simply of the two religions against each other, but of moderate men, both Roman Catholics and Protestants on behalf of the king, against the pope and his allies at home and abroad. Henry had, at this period of his life, no very strong sense of religion; he had already begun to temporize, and to maintain that the contest between the two parties was of much less importance than either of them was willing to allow. "Let a man hold the creeds," he was fond of saying, "and live accordingly, and he must be a good Christian." But in fact he was gradually becoming indifferent to the cause to which his illustrious mother had devoted her life, and the solicitations of his wife were not wanting to win him back to the Church of Rome. At length, on the 25th July, 1593, he abjured the Protestant faith, and was admitted, at the church of St. Denis, with much pomp, into the communion of the Roman Catholic Church. His title to the throne was afterwards recognised by the pope.

Still, the Protestants obtained some advantages. In the first place, their persecutions ceased for a time at least; and, secondly, the EDICT OF NANTES, which was signed the 30th of April, 1598. secured to them the exercise of public worship and other privileges. This famous edict recognised the Protestants as a party in the state. In the preamble the king acknowledges that God is adored and worshipped by all his subjects, if not in the same

form, at least with the same intentions; "in such manner that his kingdom will always merit and preserve the glorious title of 'very Christian.'" The edict was declared perpetual and irrevocable, as being the principal foundation of the union and tranquillity of the state. Within their families liberty of conscience was allowed; noblemen of the highest rank had permission to perform Divine service in their castles; and those of inferior rank might admit thirty persons to their private worship. The Protestants were eligible to all civil offices, their poor to the hospitals, and for their protection mixed chambers, partly Protestant, were to be established in all the parliaments. These parliaments, be it observed, were provincial assemblies, partly judicial and partly deliberative, and there were ten of them in the whole of France. They were also permitted to convoke synods and to establish four academies for science and theology. Still, however, the public exercise of their religion was limited to certain towns, in which it had been already licensed, and to the suburbs of other cities in certain parts of the kingdom. The supremacy of the Church of Rome was provided for; tithe was to be paid to its clergy, and its worship was to be re-established throughout the kingdom. This last article is said to have undone the work of the Reformation to a vast extent, and to have restored the mass in two hundred and fifty towns and two thousand parishes. Yet the party of the League was dissatisfied: pope Clement VIII. declared, that a decree that gave liberty of conscience to all was accursed—"the most accursed that had ever been made." The university of Paris attempted to close its gates against the Huguenots, and the parliament of Paris, until overcome by the king's remonstrances, refused to register the edict. At length, by degrees, passion upon both sides died away, and the twelve years that followed, to the death of the king, forms one of the most tranquil periods of the reformed Church. The edict of Nantes was the charter of Protestantism in France. The preface declared it to be perpetual and irrevocable; but it was ill observed from the first, and, after eighty-seven years, repealed by the grandson of Henry of Navarre; but during that long interval it was the measure and the rule, though not always the effectual bulwark, of the liberties of the Protestants of France.

During this season of repose the spiritual life of the Reforma-

tion failed. After the edict few converts were gained, while, at the same time, many Huguenots conformed. They went, says a French writer, through the Church of Rome, in order to pass into the ante-chambers of the court. The priests were anxious to gain over the pastors, and their conduct was marked with generosity. They raised a fund of thirty thousand livres a-year for the purpose of pensioning those ministers and professors who might forsake the Huguenots. To the honour of their pastors not one of them accepted the bounty. Yet the piety, and with it the energy and success, of the Protestants, had disappeared. Catherine, the queen-mother, had employed all her seductive arts to infuse amongst their chiefs and leaders the luxurious vices of her own licentious court; rank, office, and all the other allurements of royal patronage were employed to shake their fidelity; and Mézerai asserts, that more Huguenots were converted in four years by these methods, than had been induced to abandon their religion in forty years by the scaffold and the stake. "Nor must we omit, as still more fatal to their piety, the sanguinary habits contracted during many years of civil warfare. The atrocities of that dark era were not confined to the Catholics. As the contest proceeded, the parties on either side became gradually bereft, not only of the spirit of Christianity, but of the feelings of our common humanity; while the moral sense was paralysed, if not deadened, by the sight, and the perpetration, of remorseless cruelties. To men stained with such crimes, however sorely provoked to the commission of them, it was not given to raise aloft the Cross of the Redeemer, and to announce the tidings of peace and reconciliation. By the lips of such heralds, even the gospel itself was proclaimed in vain." (Sir James Stephen, Lectures on the Hist. of France.)

We do not attempt to pursue the history during the interval between the edict of Nantes and its revocation. It would be to relate the struggle of two great political parties rather than to give a history of religion or of the Protestant Church. Henry IV. fell by the hand of Ravaillac the assassin on the 14th May 1610. The Huguenots left Paris; the duke of Sully, who had now become their leader, shut himself up in the Bastile, of which he was governor; and in the southern provinces the Huguenots took up arms. There was a general dread of the court, now managed on behalf of the young king, Louis XIII., a child eight

years old, by Mary de Medicis, the widow of Henry IV., a bigoted and vindictive Catholic. But it was not till 1615 that the wars of religion again broke out. In 1620 a system of persecution, afterwards known as the *dragonnades*, was introduced. The states of Béarn, almost entirely Protestant, were ordered to restore the ecclesiastical property, which, for thirty years, had been applied to their own churches, schools, and hospitals, and, as they were naturally reluctant, the demand was enforced at the point of the sword. The soldiers committed the greatest excesses. The people were driven to the mass with blows, their property wasted, their children carried off. The war spread, with its usual miseries, and in 1625, Rochelle, the Protestant stronghold in the north, fell. It was lost to the Huguenots by the treachery of Charles I., who made over to the French king the fleet which had been equipped for the assistance of the besieged Protestants. The pope sang a Te Deum, and wrote to congratulate Louis, and once more "the religion" seemed to be expiring in France. At Privas, a small town which was taken by capitulation from the Huguenots, the garrison of eight hundred was slaughtered, fifty burghers were hanged, numbers were sent to the galleys, the town was burnt, and a band of missionary priests followed to compel the survivors to embrace the religion of the king. In 1629 an *edict of grace* was published—the title shows the altered condition of the Huguenots; they were now treated only as rebels, or as a disaffected faction. The great Calvinist party had ceased to exist after the loss of Rochelle.

Louis XIV. succeeded to the crown in 1644, and found the Protestants few in numbers, and of no political importance. For some time they were treated with the forbearance which contempt inspires. His first minister, Richelieu, as well as Mazarin, who succeeded him, were men of more enlarged minds and gentle dispositions than any who had hitherto directed the counsels of the Roman Catholic party. The Protestants were allowed to hold their synods: many eloquent preachers, and several authors of the highest reputation appeared amongst them. It is enough to mention the names of Amyraut, Dumoulin, Daillé, Basnage, Drelincourt, and Claude. Yet it must not be supposed that their condition, even now, was an enviable one. They were exposed to constant insults, and occasionally, on some trifling pretext, to gross injustice. Mazarin died in 1661; the

king resolved to govern alone; he was now, too, freed by the death of Cromwell and the restoration of Charles II. from all uneasiness from England; his disposition was naturally insolent, and it was inflamed by unbridled indulgence and the possession of unbounded power. His licentiousness drove him to his priests for relief to an irritated conscience, and the priests used their influence to embitter his mind against the Huguenots. He began to persecute in order to appease his remorse, and make a composition for his crimes. Urged forwards by the Jesuits, he was easily persuaded that the suppression of heresy would atone for his criminal indulgences; and his favourite mistress, Madame de Maintenon, was now only anxious to conceal the stain in her birth (she was born and brought up a Huguenot) by stimulating the king to fresh severities. One by one, the immunities which had been extorted from his predecessors were invaded; every legal point was determined in favour of their enemies; their political assemblies were closed; their national synod forbidden; their burials ordered to be solemnized only in the night, their marriages to be regulated by the (Roman) canon law; their ministers forbidden to wear the cassock, except in a place of worship, or to speak or pray with their poor in the hospitals, except in a whisper; the profession of physic was closed against them; they were forbidden to exercise the callings of apothecaries, grocers, or booksellers, or to have an apprentice. On the other hand, large sums were spent by the court in buying conversions; and, as a premium, converts were allowed a delay of three years for the payment of their debts. But the conversions did not, after all, proceed with sufficient rapidity, and soldiers were quartered in the houses of the *obstinate;* while converts were exempted from the burden by a royal ordinance. The highest expectations were raised at court. "If God spares the king," wrote Madame de Maintenon to her friend, Mad. de Villette, on the 6th April, 1681, "there will not be a single Huguenot in twenty years." The repeal of the Edict of Nantes seemed to be the only step necessary to complete their final destruction; it had, in fact, been for some years resolved upon, and from this time began to be avowed; and preparations were made for carrying it into effect. Frightful cruelties were practised. One Protestant minister, Andoyer, was hanged in 1684; another, Homel, was broken on the wheel in the same year. Petitions or

remonstrances were alike unheeded. The dragonnades were renewed, and horrible acts of cruelty were practised, perhaps (as his apologists maintain) without the sanction, or even the knowledge of the king. The whole nation was inflamed against the Huguenots. Soulier, a Roman Catholic, writes thus: "While the king's council was striving to suppress the Protestant academies and overthrow their temples, the bishops, the parliaments, the governors, and even the inferior authorities, did each their best to second the king's designs: by this means most of the provinces where Huguenotism was formerly very flourishing were deprived even of public worship." In the court of Louis XIV., the ruling passion and the fashionable pursuit was to make converts. It was the one act by which the king had been induced to believe that all his sins would be atoned for, and the glory of his reign established for ever. M de Sismondi wittily remarks that religion, as inculcated on Louis XIV. by his confessors, is reducible to two precepts: "Desist from adultery; exterminate heresy." One-third of all the profits of all the vacant benefices of France was set apart by Louis as the capital of a sort of bank of conversion, at the head of which he placed Pelisson, himself a convert from the faith of Geneva. Under Pelisson were employed subordinate officers in all the cities and provinces of France in which Protestantism most abounded. Their duty was to purchase adhesions to the Church of Rome: for this traffic there was a regular scale of prices, ranging from five to a hundred livres, according to the rank and wealth of the apostates. Lists were published of hundreds of conversions; but, unfortunately, the converts, having received the bribe, affected scruples, fell back into the ranks of the Huguenots, and had to be bribed again. This device was answered by an edict of the year 1679, which condemned all relapsed persons to banishment for life, and confiscated their property. The work proceeded too slowly after all; there were still about two millions of Frenchmen who were not ashamed of the name of Huguenots. It was evident that the conversion of France would never be effected by blandishments and bribes. Louis determined to have recourse to violence: penal laws were passed and rigidly enforced. From an appalling list of pains and penalties, we adduce a few of the most distressing. Mixed marriages were forbidden: a Protestant might not employ a

Catholic valet, lest he should be seduced into heresy, nor a Protestant because he could not be trusted by the State. Children of seven years of age might abjure the Protestant faith notwithstanding the opposition of their parents; an opposition which subjected them to a severe penalty. Much of their ecclesiastical property was confiscated. If a new convert were admitted, the pastor was punished with banishment and confiscation of his property, and the congregation was dispersed. The dragoons were now let loose, and in 1685 two hundred and forty thousand converts were made at the point of the halbert. Scenes incapable of description must be faintly pictured to the reader by his own imagination. Louvois, one of the missionaries employed, reported that within a few weeks twenty thousand conversions had been effected in the district of Montauban, and sixty thousand in that of Bordeaux. "A month ago," said he, "there were one hundred and fifty thousand Protestants; very soon there will not be ten thousand left." The Duc de Noailles, commanding the army on the south-east, wrote to Louvois as follows: "The day after my arrival at Nismes, the most considerable persons of the place made their abjuration. The ardour for change then cooled a little, but, in consequence of my having quartered some troops upon some of the most obstinate, affairs are once more in a good train. . . . I hope that before the end of the month not a single Huguenot will be left in the Cevennes. . . . The number of these religionists in this province is about two hundred and forty thousand." These were preliminary steps. On the 18th October 1685, Louis XIV. signed the REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES. "Observing," says the king, in the introduction, "with the gratitude which we so justly owe to God, that our cares have produced the desired end, and that the greater part of those of the religion calling itself reformed have embraced the Catholic faith, for which reason the further execution of the Edict of Nantes is useless, therefore it is enacted that the Protestant religion shall be no longer celebrated in any part of the kingdom; that all Protestant pastors shall quit France within fifteen days, and be condemned to the galleys if they venture to preach again (while those who should conform received a pension, with other privileges); that the children of Protestants shall be educated as Catholics; that Protestants emigrating, if men, shall be sent to the galleys for

life; if women, be imprisoned for life." A deceitful promise was added, that the members of this religion might remain unmolested till it should please God to enlighten them, provided they abstained from public worship. The last article gave rise to fresh calamities: the Huguenots rejoiced that liberty of conscience within the bosom of the family was still respected. But the intentions of the court were very different; it was merely a pretext to prevent their emigration. Louvois wrote thus to the commanders of the dragoons: "His Majesty desires that the utmost rigour shall be shown to those who will not conform to his religion, and those who seek the foolish glory of being the last must be pushed to the utmost extremity." Almost all writers, of all creeds, and all shades of political opinion, date from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the destruction of the ancient monarchy, and the long entail of the sorrows and disgraces of a hundred years. But the edict was popular, and never was the "grand monarque" thought more worthy of the title than when, as his flatterers told him, he had accomplished, by a single stroke of his pen, what six kings of France had attempted in vain. The act of revocation was rigorously executed. The letter of the edict had allowed fifteen days for the departure of the pastors; they hastened to be gone; hurried away, as they were, by the royal guards. There was a rush of Huguenots to the frontiers. The men assumed every possible disguise. Women of quality, says an eye-witness (Benoit, "Hist. of the Edict of Nantes,") who, so to speak, had never placed a foot upon the ground, except to cross their apartments or stroll in an avenue, travelled on foot a hundred leagues. Girls of fifteen, of every rank, exposed themselves to the same hazard: they drew wheelbarrows, they carried manure, they disfigured their faces with dyes, or blistered the skin to give them a wrinkled aspect; both women and girls counterfeited sickness, dumbness, and insanity. Some went disguised as men, some, too delicate and small for men, donned the dress of lacqueys, and followed, as boys, on foot through the mud. Thousands perished with fatigue, or accident, or shipwreck, or the bullets of the soldiery; thousands were captured, and the galleys were crammed with ancient magistrates, officers, gentlemen, and old men. The court was alarmed at the depopulation of the country and the ruin of industry. To-day it affected

indifference, and threw open all the outlets of the country; to-morrow it revoked the license; yet few ships quitted the coast without carrying away some fugitives stowed away in the cargo, or packed in cases and bales of goods. Multitudes put to sea in open boats, and thus numbers perished. It is difficult to determine the exact number of the refugees. Benoit, himself a refugee pastor, makes the number of his clerical brethren seven hundred: a moderate statement; since other writers have raised the numbers to fifteen hundred, and two thousand. Voltaire says that fifty thousand families quitted the kingdom. Sismondi calculates that, if the lowest numbers be accepted, three or four hundred thousand established themselves in other countries, while a million was left in France. Of the numbers who took refuge in England, we may judge from the fact that twenty-two French churches were formed in London, and eleven regiments of refugees were enrolled in the army. But it is with the history of the million Protestants who remained in France that our narrative is now concerned. To the story of the refugees we shall advert hereafter.

After the edict of revocation, the Protestants were still exposed to the dragonnades. *Lettres de cachet* were issued, under which hundreds were secretly imprisoned. Their churches, or temples, and Bibles were destroyed, and their children kidnapped and placed in Roman Catholic seminaries and convents. Still the Protestant cause revived; and the court was enraged and mortified to learn that all its measures, severe and desperate as they were, had been unsuccessful. It is true that in two important points the character of the Huguenot party was much altered. It had now no longer a nobility to lead, or a clergy to instruct it. After the revocation, scarcely a gentleman of rank of the reformed religion remained in France. A party which had once numbered in its ranks probably a third of the noblesse, several Bourbon princes, and a king of France, was now composed only of the middle classes (and but sparingly of these), the mechanics, and the peasantry. All their learned men, all their pastors, had disappeared. It is true that many of those who had fled at the revocation returned soon after, and resumed their ministry by stealth. But in July, 1686, an ordinance appeared denouncing death against the pastors who had thus returned, and confinement for life to the galleys to those who sheltered them.

The same ordinance promised a reward of five thousand five hundred livres to those who should apprehend or betray a minister, and it threatened death to those who should attend the religious meetings of the Huguenots. These were no empty menaces; if the Protestants were overheard praying or singing, the soldiers at once fired upon them. They preserved exact lists of the numbers massacred in different places, and there were instances in which companies of two, three, or five hundred were slaughtered without an effort to resist, and found dead in the tranquil attitude of prayer. Louis XIV. was urged to these furious excesses by his own tyrannical disposition, and by the arts of the Jesuits under Père la Chaise, the royal confessor. But the Jansenists viewed these cruelties with horror, and solemnly protested against them. Several of the bishops refused to put in force the royal mandates against the Huguenots, or to suffer their clergy to harass them into a recantation; and Fénélon dared to lift up his voice in indignant condemnation of measures which he saw to be at once futile and wicked.

Under these circumstances the war of the Camisards broke out. It would have been astonishing if an enthusiastic and persecuted band of men, without leaders, had not fallen into some excesses, and it excites no surprise that when thus goaded they took reprisals on their tormentors. It is only under the influence of the highest religious principles that human nature can patiently submit to a course of systematic cruelty, the details of which, as in the case of the Camisards, are too sickening to bear description. Deprived of their pastors, the Huguenots devoutly listened to the instructions of several pious laymen, amongst whom Claude Brousson, an advocate of Nismes, is justly renowned. He renounced his prospects in life, and gave himself up to the noble work of imparting spiritual consolation to an afflicted people. A volume of sermons published shortly after his death attests, not only his piety and zeal, but genius and a fair amount of learning. His ministry was carried on in caves, and out-houses, and inaccessible ravines amongst the mountains. At length he was arrested, and sentenced to be broken alive, and then hanged, but the sentence was inverted; he was first strangled and then mangled on the wheel. This was one of many ferocious acts which drove the Huguenots to madness. In July, 1702, they fell upon

the Abbé du Chaila, a ferocious persecutor, whose refinement in torturing his victims no North American savage or grand inquisitor has at any time surpassed. A body of fifty Huguenots suddenly surrounded the house in which he lodged; he endeavoured to escape, but fell pierced with nearly fifty wounds. Each assassin exclaiming as he struck him, "This avenges my father's death;" "This comes from my brother in the galleys." This was the beginning of the war of the Camisards—a word the meaning of which is unknown.

The Camisards soon found themselves in sufficient numbers to dare an open insurrection; they continued two years in arms, and maintained upwards of thirty engagements with the royal troops. The Count de Broglie attacked them on the 12th of January, 1703, at Val-de-Bane. There were not above two hundred Camisards. The approach of the troops did not move the resolute band, who continued singing a psalm, with one knee on the ground, until they had received the first volley; when they replied with such effect, that their enemies retreated. But the fortunes of Louis had already waned, and fearing that the Protestant powers of Europe might land their troops in the disturbed provinces, he was induced to relax his severities, and even to offer places in his service to their leaders. He died in 1715, and the Camisard war expired. It certainly purchased a few years of comparative repose to the Huguenots during the last part of his reign.

The Camisards, deprived of their ministers, were often the dupes of an ignorant superstition. They regarded their leaders as inspired men, and prophets in great numbers appeared amongst them, and were listened to with implicit faith. The soldiers called themselves the children of God, the flock of the Lord, and they bestowed on their captains the name of brother. In many points they resembled the sectaries in the parliamentary army under Cromwell. Their private life was religious and severe; but they made stern and bloody reprisals upon their enemies. The atrocities on both sides were such that it is refreshing to meet with a military engagement, as a positive relief.

The Protestant refugees, after the revocation of the edict Nantes, were hospitably received in all Protestant countries. land was their principal retreat; and they well repaid the ous sympathy which their sufferings drew forth amongst our

countrymen. Schomberg and Rouvigné were Huguenots. To the former, at the head of his French regiment, was due in no small measure the triumph of William III. at the battle of the Boyne, in 1689; and the humiliation, by the same blow, of popery and the grand monarque, as represented in James II. the tool of both. Schomberg was not less a Christian than a hero; twice in the course of a long life he had been stripped of all he had for his adherance to the Protestant cause. He was offered the bâton of a marshal of France on condition that he would conform. He answered the king, "That if upon such low motives he abandoned the service of the God of his fathers, he should deserve the scorn of all men, and in particular of his majesty; and he who was not true to God, could never be faithful to his prince." His high merit afterwards gained the bâton. One of his first proclamations to the army which he led, in his last campaign of Ireland, is "to forbid the horrid and detestable crimes of profane cursing and swearing, and taking God's holy name in vain, because, he justly fears, that their majesties' army may be more prejudiced by these sins than advantaged by the conduct and courage of those guilty of them." His discipline would have suited the camp of Oliver Cromwell, or been worthy of that of Gustavus-Adolphus. The Marquis of Rouvigné was another of the heroes of William III. He had left a plentiful estate in France to follow the dictates of his conscience, and devoted his high abilities to the service of his adopted land in the cabinet and upon the field.

For many years the refugees were supported by a national grant, and we fear that to this circumstance, as much as to the misconduct of some of their own body, must be attributed the unpopularity which fell upon them soon afterwards. It is not to be supposed that the emigration had been confined entirely to religious men. In so large a number there was of course the usual admixture of good and evil. The greater part had no doubt obeyed the voice of conscience: many had been driven out by fear; but others had yielded to the mere influence of contagious example, or had sought excitement rather than repose; and these brought with them the habits of a corrupt nation instead of those of a reformed church. In a sermon preached at the French Chapel of the Savoy, on the death of Queen Mary, the minister Jean Dubourdieu, spoke of "that



extraordinary contradiction, at which he wondered, in the conduct of the profane refugees, unable to practise the religion for which they suffered."

About the year 1706 the French prophets appeared, and for several years the indignation with which they were visited fell, with little discrimination, on all the refugees. The chief prophets were Camisards, who had already played their part in the Cevennes, and now came over to London, professing inspiration; but whether from fanaticism or the mere love of imposture, seems a little uncertain. They displayed their gifts in public, threw themselves into convulsions, or fell into trances, and were visited by crowds. Credulity being limited to no class of society, the rich and educated caught the infection, and shared deeply in the delusion. Some converts were gained in the higher classes, and amongst members even of the bar. They were joined, too, by Sir Richard Bulkeley, a baronet of ancient family, and for a short time not only London, but the great provincial towns were infested with "French prophets" and prophetesses, and their English imitators. Happily one of them in London stumbled on a prediction which at once brought his veracity to the test. He foretold that upon a given day a certain dead man would revive. The enthusiasm was incredible, but the bubble then burst, and the French prophets were heard of no more. In justice to the children of the Huguenots, let it be remembered, that similar claims to the prophetic gift were made about the same time by a section of Roman Catholics in France, and that they have been revived by the Irvingites in England during the present century.

In this folly the French churches in London was not involved. They passed a severe censure upon the Camisards and their fraudulent or foolish fanaticism; both, as they said, "to prevent the reproach which those of the Romish communion might cast upon us, and to testify to the nation in whose bosom we have the happiness to live, that we have done what lay in our power to prevent this great scandal." Some went further, and treating the prophets and their assemblies with marks of contempt, took pains to show their abhorrence of such practices.

Religion appears to have greatly declined amongst them about this period. They became violent politicians, and thus provoked the animosity of their opponents; and in the caricatures of

Hogarth, as well as in the literature of the day, we may see indications of their unpopularity. Gradually, however, these ebullitions ceased. The refugees acquired the language and the habits of their adopted country, and with these its religion. Of the original churches of the Huguenots in London, only two or three now exist, and these are replenished by new comers from abroad, rather than the descendants of the ancient refugees. But, on the other hand, they have risen to wealth and station in English society, and have long been thoroughly incorporated with us. In art and science, in the senate and upon the exchange, at the bar and in the pulpit, not a few names of high distinction remind us of a French extraction, and of our obligations, as a people, to the tyrant who, in revoking the edict of Nantes, infused a new element of life among the Protestant nations of Europe.

In England, the French Church has produced no great divines, if we except Saurin, who for a short time was one of the ministers of a congregation in London. In 1705, he settled at the Hague, and there his ministerial life was spent. We believe that he is allowed to stand in the highest class of French orators, sacred or secular. He is eulogized by foreign critics for deep thought, forcible argument, bursts of feeling, and a grand simplicity. But an English reader is rather impressed with admiration of his skill and genius than deeply moved. An effort to surprise us is too apparent; the structure of the address is too elaborate; and we are not carried away with a torrent, copious indeed and beautiful, but conducted through artificial channels, which seems meant to decorate the landscape rather than to refresh the soil.

The history of the French Protestants in France, from the death of Louis XIV. to the revolution in 1789, presents few points of interest. During the regency of the duke of Orleans we have a repetition of the old severities. So recently as 1752, Benzenet was executed at Montpellier, and in 1762 Rochette at Toulouse, for no crime except that they were Protestant ministers. At Rochelle three brothers were beheaded at the same time, who were offered their lives upon the scaffold if they would abjure. Louis XVI. made a few concessions in favour of his Protestant subjects. It was reserved for the National Assembly to restore the Huguenots to the enjoyment of the rights of men and citizens. The Edict of Toleration was passed in 1789, and it removed the penalties of the Revocation, and gave the Protestants once more

a legal existence. A decree of the Constituent Assembly declared "all citizens equal in the eye of the law," and removed the last badges of degradation. When the patrimony of the Church was confiscated, the Protestants were accused by the Roman Catholic party of being the cause of its misfortune, and in the south of France they were pillaged and killed; but the revolution advanced, both parties fell in equal proportions beneath the knife of the guillotine, and these quarrels disappeared. During the reign of Napoleon the Protestants were protected. "The empire of the law," said he, "ends, where that of conscience begins." If we may believe O'Meara, he once seriously contemplated the establishment of Protestantism as the religion of France. During the empire persecution ceased, and yet religion seemed to derive no advantage. Properly speaking, says M. De Felice, a Protestant minister, "French Protestantism has no history during the consulate and the empire. Weak in numbers, scattered, without bond or union, without discipline, constrained to be humble and silent, and to avoid all occasion of disturbing the official classification of religions, it dragged on a uniform and obscure existence. The ministers preached, and the people listened, the consistories met, and worship preserved its forms. Beyond this no one troubled himself, no one thought, and religion was a thing beyond the life of all." Upon the return of the Bourbons, in 1815, attempts were made on the part of the extreme Roman Catholics to induce the government to repeat the often-tried experiment of religious persecution. At Nismes, barbarities were practised, which would stand out in strong and frightful colours in any other history than that of the ever-suffering Huguenots. Several outrages and even murders were committed, and a general slaughter, "another Bartholomew" was planned, and on the eve of execution, when it was happily discovered and prevented by General Lagarde. The second revolution of 1830, placed all religions once more upon an equal footing, and the Protestants accepted the dynasty of Louis Philippe with hope and joy. But they were again doomed to disappointment. They soon found that they were safe so long only as they were apathetic. The national irreligion gave them occasion to display their zeal, and their old opponents, the Jesuit party, on whose support the king had unhappily thrown himself, demanded vigorous measures. The growth of a new developement of infidelity, St.



Simonianism, had created an Evangelical association, the aim of which was to promulgate Scriptural truth rather than to further the interests of any individual community. In several instances the Protestant ministers, and especially those in connection with this society, were punished by the inferior courts with fines, or the suppression of their places of worship; and the Court of Cassation, the supreme tribunal, though presided over by the virtuous Dupin, professed itself incompetent to redress the grievances the reality of which were admitted. Yet Protestantism increased, and the traces of its primitive zeal and piety reappeared. A number of Roman Catholics, and even some priests embraced it. New churches were formed. In 1838, the Calvinist or Reformed Church had eighty-nine consistories, and about four hundred ministers. The Lutheran Church in France had, in addition, thirty-seven consistories, and about two hundred and sixty ministers. The names of men of rank and talent, and of pastors renowned for eloquence or apostolic zeal, once more adorned the annals of a reviving cause. Amongst the former were the young Baron de Stael, the worthy descendant of great progenitors, and the admiral Ver-Huell, an ambassador, and a peer of France. Amongst the latter, Felix Neff, Alexander Vinet, Vincent, and Encontre, need only to be mentioned. The revolution of 1848 found the Protestants anxious, and probably not reluctant. Under Louis Philippe, their liberties had been abridged, and the growing power of the priesthood evidently threatened them with further discouragements. Once more there was a door of hope. The delegates of the reformed churches assembled spontaneously at Paris in the month of May 1848. They had been, in a manner, convoked by the common necessities and apprehensions. There was no regularity in the origin of their mandates; some had been appointed by universal suffrage, others by the consistories. Nor was a fair proportion observed in the members of the representatives: certain churches in the neighbourhood of Paris reckoned five or six delegates for a single consistorial circuit; while, on the other hand, some churches had only sent one deputy for three or four consistories. There, lastly, was no uniformity in the powers of the delegates; some were authorized to enter fully into a discussion of ecclesiastical questions, and others were not. Such an assembly could only prepare the way for a body more regularly chosen by the members of legal Protestantism.

The meeting first debated the question of the relations between Church and State, and the great majority were in favour of preserving the alliance, reserving expressly the dignity and liberty of the Church. A resolution was framed for the formation of an assembly to consider the affairs of the Protestant communion. Its session opened on the 11th September 1848. Ninety-two consistories were invited to nominate an ecclesiastical or lay deputy, and eighty-nine complied. But the number of members actually present at the assembly did not exceed from seventy to eighty; it was, in fact, a voluntary meeting, and without authority in law; the churches represented were still free to accept or reject its resolutions. But the difficulties which seem inherent in all ecclesiastical convocations impeded the little good which might, perhaps not unreasonably, have been looked for. The assembly stumbled and broke down upon the question of a confession of faith. The majority decided not to meddle with dogmatic subjects. The minority protested and withdrew. The majority proceeded to revise the constitution of the French churches, and submitted a scheme to the Minister of Public Worship with a view to obtaining a legal establishment. They proposed to reconstruct the Church upon the presbyterian system. They retained general consistories as subordinate to particular synods, and these again to a general synod which should assemble at stated intervals. But the scheme has not yet been sanctioned by the government. The minority formed, together with the independent congregations already in being, a new religious society under the name of the Union of the Evangelical Churches of France. They opened a synod on the 20th of August 1849, and drew up a profession of faith and an ecclesiastical constitution for the churches represented. But other changes were at hand. In December 1851, Louis Napoleon became Emperor of France. In the proclamation in which the imperial constitution is promulged, he declares, "it is still the *Concordat* that regulates the relations in Church and State." This is, certainly, a great discouragement to Protestantism. By Napoleon's Concordat of 1801 the Roman Catholic faith is recognized "as that of the majority of the French nation," and although liberty of conscience was affirmed for all, still the priest party had never ceased to urge, even under Napoleon I., that toleration was all to which Protestants were entitled—not



an endowment by the State. The National Assembly of 1849 had declared all religions equal in the eye of the law; and the Protestants looked forward on the accession of Napoleon III. to a share in ecclesiastical revenues as well as civil rights. At present, the French Church exhibits on the one hand a revival of piety, learning, and active zeal worthy of its best ages; on the other its political horizon is gloomy: the State shows little sympathy; and the Jesuit party are bent on its destruction.

It is a long time since the literature of the French Church was known beyond its own borders. Poverty, and constant anxieties for its very existence, suggest at once a sufficient explanation without any reflection upon the capacity or diligence of the clergy. "We are not aware," says De Felice, "of the publication of a single important book on doctrine, ecclesiastical history, or sacred eloquence, in the course of Napoleon's reign." A few occasional sermons, some courses of religious instruction, some abridgments of sacred history, three or four translations of English and German works, constitute the Protestant literature of this epoch. After the Restoration, though numerous works were published, they were mostly translations or reprints. Thus the writings of Paley, Chalmers, Thomas Scott, and Milner, have become familiar to the French reader. At present, the religious press upon the continent, where free, is in a state of great activity; and works of great research, or deep thought, such as Gaussen's *Theopneustia*, for example, enrich the language of France and exalt its piety. In history and biography, and, still more perhaps, in a species of writing which has hitherto been left too much, in England at least, to minds of an inferior order,—religious tracts, full of thought and point; solemn as the subject requires, yet picturesque and vivid,—the French Protestant divines are creating a new and important literature of their own.—*Maimbourg, Hist. du Calvinisme; Anquetil, Esprit de la Ligue; Fleury, Hist. Ecclesias.; Thuani, Hist.; Vie de Coligny; Browning, Hist. Huguenots; De Felice, Hist. French Protestants; Weiss, Hist. des Réfugiés Protestants depuis la Révolution*, &c.

FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF (OR QUAKERS). George Fox, who was born at Drayton, in Leicestershire, in 1624, is the reputed founder of the Society of Friends; but they trace up their principles to the New Testament, and regard Fox in the light only of an eminent confessor, possessing more spiritual discernment than other teachers of his age. The Reformation, they maintain, was a gradual work, and Fox brought it to completion. The great leaders of the Reformation had no doubt protested faithfully against various errors. Wickliffe against the papal supremacy; Latimer against the mass; the Anabaptists against the error of infant baptism; and thus the great structure of human inventions was gradually broken down. It was reserved for Fox to teach the spirituality of pure religion, and the power with which the Holy Spirit works upon the soul of man. The doctrine, in his hands, was not new; it was held by all the Reformed Churches; and sentiments which have been supposed to be peculiar to Quakerism on the point of a Divine afflatus may be found in earlier records. Thus Peloquin, who was burnt in France in 1552, had said in his confession "that it was the Holy Ghost who gave him witness in his conscience that the books of the Old and New Testament were the Holy Scripture." Lewis de Marsac was burned about the same time at Lyons. When asked how he knew the Holy Scriptures to be the gospel, he made the same answer, "that God had taught him so by his Spirit." These men, however, lived only in the dawning of the Reformation, and to them a full and clear discernment of the truth had not been granted, for though, to use the language of a Quaker historian, the stem of human traditions and institutions had been sometimes strongly shaken, yet much of the root was left. "There still stood a partition wall, whereby the soul was hindered from living in perfect peace with its Creator." It now pleased God to make a clearer discovery of his truth; and Fox was raised up to teach the doctrine of an inward light and the spirituality of true religion.

The parents of George Fox were pious members of the Church of England in humble life. His father was a weaver; his mother was of the stock of the martyrs. Their son was apprenticed to a shoemaker, and from childhood his temper was grave and thoughtful. In his nineteenth year, under a conviction which he believed to be from heaven, that he must forsake his

kindred and his father's house, he left his home, resolved upon a life of seclusion from the world. We are indebted to his own pen for an account of the various trials, mental and bodily, through which he passed. To understand aright the disposition of Fox, the origin of Quakerism, or the state of society in England out of which it rose, we must avail ourselves of this singular and affecting memorial.

He left Drayton in 1643, and wandered about from town to town, seeking rest and finding none. He led a solitary life; he fasted often, and read the Holy Scriptures diligently. Still he was in great misery and sorrow of mind. He fell into a despairing state, walking many nights by himself, and sleeping in woods. After some time he went to an ancient priest at Mancetter, in Warwickshire, and reasoned with him about despair and temptation: who, being ignorant of his condition, bid him take tobacco and sing psalms. But, he says, "he was no lover of tobacco, and as for psalms he did not feel in a state to sing." After this he went to one Macham, a priest of high account, who was for giving him physic and for bleeding him. Alas! he found them all miserable comforters, and his mind continued in a state of great trouble.

In the year 1646, on the 1st of May, while he was walking in the fields, he had, he believed, a divine revelation, which discovered to his understanding that *to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to make a man to be a minister of Christ.* At this he wondered, believing now the ordinary ministers not to be such as they pretended to be, and this made him unwilling to go any more to church. He, therefore, retired to fields and orchards, and studied his Bible alone; nor did he join himself to any body of dissenters, or professors of religion.

It was about this time that he believed he received several revelations from heaven. At last joy broke in upon his heart, and he thus expresses himself: "I saw into that which was without end, and things which cannot be uttered; and of the greatness and infiniteness of the love of God, which cannot be expressed by words: for I had been brought through the very ocean of darkness and death, and through and over the power of Satan by the eternal glorious power of Christ. Even through that darkness was I brought which covered all the world, and which chained down all, and shut up all in the death. And the same eternal *power of God* which brought me through those

things was that which afterwards shook the nation, priests, professors, and people. Then could I say I had been in spiritual Babylon, Sodom, Egypt, and the grave; but by the eternal power of God I was come out of it, and was brought over it, and the power of it, into the power of Christ. And I saw the harvest white, and the seed of God lying thick in the ground, as ever did wheat that was sown outwardly, and none to gather it. And for this I mourned with tears."

A report now went abroad that he was a young man of a discerning spirit; and many professors, priests, and people listened to his ministry.

In 1649, while he was at Nottingham, he entered the parish church, which he calls the steeple-house, where, having heard the priest give out his text, and preach "that it was the Scripture by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions," Fox felt such a righteous zeal working in him, that he was made to cry out, "O, no! it is not the Scripture, but it is the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the Scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments are to be tried. That was it which led into all truth, and gave the knowledge thereof; for the Jews had the Scripture, and yet resisted the Holy Ghost, and rejected Christ, the bright Morning Star, and persecuted him and his apostles, though they took upon them to try their doctrine by Scriptures; but they erred in judgment, and did not try them aright, because they did it without the Holy Ghost." He thus speaking, the officers came and took him away, and put him in prison. After a while he was taken to the sheriff's house, where he lodged, and many religious meetings were held there, attended by people of quality and others, on whom a mighty change was wrought by means of his preaching. But the magistrates were displeased, and committed him again to the common prison, where he was kept till the next assizes. He was at length set at liberty, and travelled as before, preaching in all the towns and villages through which he passed. Wherever he came, imprisonment, or something worse, befel him. At Mansfield he entered the church "to declare the truth to the priest and people." They fell upon him and beat him cruelly in the church with their hands, their sticks, and their Bibles. They then dragged him to the stocks, and would have scourged him, had not a magistrate, of more compassion, kindly interfered on his behalf. The barbarous people then stoned him

out of the town. This was but a specimen of the treatment Fox met with wherever he went. At Derby he was imprisoned in 1650, and lay in gaol for six months at once. "Magistrates, priests, and professors were all in a rage with him;" and yet his chief offence, at present, was that he questioned their notions of church government, and sternly rebuked their vices. While he was in prison he issued, in a stern prophetic manner, warnings and remonstrances addressed to his persecutors. The clergy, the magistrates, and the people were each, in turn, solemnly rebuked. Many of his censures were the more cutting because too true.

At this period England was under the rule of Cromwell. The Church of England was destroyed. The Presbyterians or Independents had possession of the parish churches; and the professions of religion from all classes were loud and clamorous. It is painful to see with what facility men, who were themselves but just released from the oppression of Laud and the tyranny of the Star Chamber, could seize the weapons of persecution, and wield them with savage violence against the harmless Quakers. The interruption of public worship, in which Fox delighted, it was necessary to repress with severity, if lenient measures were not enough. But besides the popular outrages at which the magistrates connived, the punishments which they themselves inflicted under the forms of law were vindictive and unjust; and, to other sufferings, jeers and words of scorn were added, even from the judgment-seat. It was at Derby that Fox and his companions received the title of Quakers. Jervase Bennett, one of the justices of the peace, had signed the mittimus for Fox's imprisonment; and Fox in return bid him "tremble at the word of the Lord." Bennett from thence took occasion to call him and his companions Quakers. Clergy and laity took up the word, and it spread with that singular rapidity with which the new coinage of abuse is welcomed. Sewell, the friend of George Fox, in his "History of the people called Quakers," says, "that it sounded so gladly abroad that it soon ran over all England; and making no stand there, it quickly reached to the neighbouring countries and adjacent kingdoms, insomuch that the said professors of the light, for distinction's sake from other religious societies, have been called everywhere by that English name, which sounding very odd in the ears of some foreign nations, hath also given occasion to many silly stories."

From his gaol Fox wrote thus to Justice Bennett, who, it

should be mentioned, was an Independent in religion—"Friend, thou that dost profess God and Christ in words, see how thou dost follow him. To take off burdens, and to visit them that be in prison, and show mercy, and clothe thy own flesh, and deal thy bread to the hungry; these are God's commandments: to relieve the fatherless, and to visit the widows in their afflictions, and to keep thyself unspotted from the world, this is pure religion before God. But if thou dost profess Christ, and followest covetousness, and greediness, and earthly-mindedness, thou deniest him in life, and deceivest thyself and others, and takest him for a cloke. Woe be to you, greedy men and rich men; howl and weep for your misery that shall come. Take heed of covetousness and extortion; God doth forbid that. Woe be to the man that coveteth an evil covetousness, that he may set his nest on high, and cover himself with thick clay. Oh, do not love that which God doth forbid; his servant thou art to whom thou dost obey, whether it be of sin unto death or of obedience unto righteousness. Think upon Lazarus and Dives; one fared sumptuously every day, the other was a beggar. See if thou be not Dives. Be not deceived: God is not mocked with vain words. Evil communication corrupteth good manners. Awake to righteousness and sin not.—G. F."

In similar strains of expostulation, earnest and simple-minded, did the shoemaker's apprentice, with the unction of a suffering prophet, issue his letters to the mayor of Derby, to the several magistrates, and to the court. His exhortation to the last is full of good sense and piety, and would have well become the sheriff's chaplain. To understand Quakerism, the reader must comprehend the character of George Fox; for no institution ever carried more thoroughly impressed upon it the features of its chief. We present it in his own words:—

"I am moved to write unto you to take heed of oppressing the poor in your courts; or laying burdens on poor people which they cannot bear; and of false oaths, or making them take oaths which they cannot perform. The Lord saith, 'I will come near to judgment, and I will be a swift witness against the sorcerers, against the false swearers, and against the idolaters, and against those that do oppress the widow and fatherless.' Therefore take heed of all these things betimes. The Lord's judgments are all true, and he delighteth in mercy; so love mercy, dear people, and consider in time."



The Independent clergy of Derby were handled with more severity than the persecuting magistrates. He regarded them justly as the men who instigated the violence of the laity:—"O, friends, I was sent unto you to tell you that if you had received the Gospel freely, you would minister it freely without money or price. But you make a trade and sale of what the prophets and the apostles have spoken, and so you corrupt the truth. And you are the men that lead silly women captive, who are ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth. You have a form of godliness, but you deny the power. Now as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do you resist the truth; being men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith. But you shall proceed no further, for your folly shall be made manifest to all men, as theirs was. Moreover, the Lord sent me to tell you that he doth look for fruits. You asked me if the Scripture was my rule? but it is not your rule, to rule your lives by, but to talk of in words. You are the men that live in pleasure, pride, and wantonness, in fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness; see if this be not the sin of Sodom. Lot received the angels: but Sodom was envious. You show forth the vain nature; you stand in the steps of those who crucified my Saviour and mocked him; you are their children, you show forth their fruit. They had the chief place in the assemblies, and so have you. They loved to be called Rabbi, and so do you. —G. F."

Fox's intrepidity, his fearless preaching, and his patience under his sufferings, gained for him many converts. Of these the gaoler of Derby was not the least remarkable. He had used his prisoner at first with professional brutality; at length, overcome by the example and the exhortations of Fox, he came into his cell to implore forgiveness, and actually went the next day to the justices to remonstrate against his further confinement. They too, by this time, had become uneasy, and were not reluctant to afford their fearless monitor, in the town gaol, an opportunity of escaping. They "gave him leave to walk a mile sometimes," hoping that he would escape. Fox quietly requested them "to let him know how far a mile was, that he might take the liberty of walking it sometimes;" and so he remained a prisoner till his term expired. His influence in the town had become so great that, a troop of soldiers being raised at Derby,

the men demanded that Fox should be their captain. The parliamentary commissioners offered him the post, which he rejected with scorn, and was in consequence committed again to prison: now, too, amongst the rogues and felons.

Here he spent his time, as before, in publishing solemn exhortations to the magistrates, and letters of consolation to his friends. Now, too, more humane and wiser than the men of the age in which he lived, or their children's children, he remonstrated with them for putting men to death for secondary crimes. "I am moved," he says, "to write unto you to take heed of putting men to death for stealing cattle, or money, &c., for the thieves in the old time were to make restitution, and if they had not wherewithal they were to be sold for their theft. Mind the laws of God in the Scriptures, and the Spirit that gave them forth; and let them be your rule in executing judgment, and show mercy, that you may receive mercy from God the judge of all." A young woman was tried for robbing her master. He wrote a solemn remonstrance to the judge and jury. The girl was sentenced to the gallows, her grave was dug, and she was carried out to the place of execution. Fox had prepared a solemn protest and placed it in the hands of one of his followers, to be read on the occasion. But public opinion was now for once on the side of the imprisoned Quaker. The magistrates were afraid, and at the last moment the culprit was reprieved beneath the scaffold. He suggested a reform, too, of another kind, which, after the lapse of another century, Howard found still unaccomplished. The prisoners remained long in gaol, "corrupting each other, and boasting of their evil deeds before they were brought to trial." He wrote an admonition to the judges showing the extent of this evil, and the necessity of having speedy justice done. In short, the magistrates found him, though in prison, a disagreeable neighbour, and he was released, after a year's imprisonment, towards the close of 1651.

George Fox was now six and twenty years of age. He had fully entered on his work, and had shown already that no sufferings which man could inflict would divert him from it. His system, in its great outlines, was formed. He had rejected the sacraments as carnal ordinances, and the stated forms of worship in use amongst Christians of other sects as mere formality. Ministers were called of God himself; no imposition of hands,



no human sanctions were necessary; and they were to speak without premeditation, and only as the Spirit gave them utterance. He had now adopted those peculiarities of dress and language which still distinguish the Society of Friends. He had protested against oaths and war, and defied the might of Cromwell himself, in refusing to bear a commission in his army, or to take an oath of allegiance to his government. A Quaker woman had begun to preach. This singularity did not originate with Fox. The *Seekers*, a sect in some points resembling the Society of Friends, had for some years existed in England, and their women preached. The sect became fanatical and violent, and died away, and the more respectable were absorbed in the societies of Fox.

Released from his imprisonment Fox immediately resumed his mission. His labours hitherto had been confined to the counties of Warwick, Stafford, York, and Lancaster; now he took a wider range. Revisiting the scenes of his former sufferings, he extended his circuit far beyond into Lincolnshire on one side, and Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, on the other. He was now assisted by several zealous friends, who had thoroughly embraced his doctrine, and who preached it with scarcely less fervour and acceptance than himself. Their teaching was everywhere the same. Christ they said was the light of man, and his light shone inwardly: to this inner light they solemnly bid every man take heed. On one occasion, standing, up amidst an audience of a thousand people, on a mountain-side in Westmorland, he spoke for about three hours. The substance of his address was that of all his preaching: "He directed all to the Spirit of God in themselves, that so they might be turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan which they had been under, unto God; by which they should become children of the light, and, by the Spirit of truth, be led into all truth, and so sensibly understand the words of the prophets of Christ, and of the Apostles; and come to know Christ to be their teacher to instruct them, their counsellor to guide them, their shepherd to feed them, their bishop to oversee them, and their prophet to open divine mysteries to them, that so their bodies might be prepared, sanctified, and made fit temples for God and Christ to dwell in. Moreover, he explained the prophets, and the figures and shadows, and directed his hearers to



ver the Apostles were in." "Thus," adds his friend and histo-
ı, Sewell, "preached George Fox, and his ministry was at that
e accompanied with such convincing power, and so reached
hearts of the people, that many, and even all the teachers of
t congregation (who were Independents), were convinced of
t truth that was declared unto them." Two eminent ministers
ongst the Quakers, Audland and Howgil, were amongst the
its of this sermon. It is scarcely a matter of surprise that, in
middle of the seventeenth century, persecution fell heavily
Fox and his companions.

To Howgil the honour belongs of having been the first to
claim the principles of the new community in London; he
ived there in the beginning of the year 1654, when Cromwell
s at the summit of his power. In the north of England the
r sect had now above sixty ministers, but in the metropolis
y were as yet unknown. Howgil, who is called an "eminent
l eloquent man," obtained an interview with Cromwell, and
n afterwards addressed to him a solemn and prophetic warn-
: "Hear the word of the Lord! Thus saith the Lord, I chose
e out of all the nations, when thou wast little in thine own
s, and threw down the powers of the earth before thee, which
l established wickedness by a law; but now thine heart is not
ight before me. * * * Therefore, this is the word of the
rd to thee, whether thou wilt hear or forbear; if thou take
; away all those laws which are made concerning religion,
ereby the people which are dear in mine eyes are oppressed,
u shalt not be established, but as thou hast trodden down my
mies by my power, so shalt thou be trodden down by my
ver." He concludes with denouncing the persecutors of the
ends. "Are not many shut up in prison? some stocked, some
ned, some shamefully entreated, because they abide in the
trine of Christ, * * * And now if thou let them suffer, and
nt it just, I will visit for these things, saith the Lord."

Cromwell was not a persecutor; in this respect he had a more
ightened spirit than perhaps any public man of his age. But
the face of a nation split into factions, and frenzied with
otry, he did not venture to repeal the penal laws which he
nd in existence, nor always to prevent their execution. The
ends spread rapidly in London: they met at first at a private
se in Watling-street, then at a house in Aldersgate-street,

and soon afterwards in a large hall attached to a great house, called the Bull and Mouth, where an inn retaining that name has existed ever since. Burrough accompanied Howgil; he was the Whitfield of the party, both in eloquence and courage. It was the custom in the summer evenings with the young men of those days to try their skill in wrestling on Moorfields, and, in general, multitudes collected to enjoy the sport: Burrough was passing one evening and saw a strong and dexterous fellow, who had already thrown three others and was waiting for a fourth; Burrough stepped into the ring, walked up to the wrestler with a serious countenance, while the crowd looked with astonishment upon "the grave and awful young man," eagerly expecting the issue of the combat. It was a fight of another kind the unknown champion had in view. He spoke in a solemn voice of the evil of their ways, and of that grace of God of which he had given to every man a measure, enlightening every one with the light of Christ. He was a son of thunder, though at the same time a man of a bland and gentle spirit. His word went with heart-piercing power, we are told, and he was heard with no less attention than admiration. The hall at the Bull and Mouth was soon crowded; their women began to preach, and from Baptists, Independents, Sectaries, and Presbyterians, the cry was heard that their people were falling away to the Quakers. The parties who had subdued an ancient monarchy and laid prostrate the Church of England, were deeply mortified. A strange young man who knew no book but his Bible, who could scarcely write, and stood up clad in a leathern jerkin, announced himself as the great reformer and prophet of the age. He and his friends, simple men and women, had been stoned, imprisoned, and whipped from town to town, but still his principles grew apace, and his followers multiplied; and now he seemed to challenge the great divines of the age, the Marshalls, Baxters, Owens, and Mantons, to mortal combat in the very seat of their pride and strength, and in the heart of London.

It must not be concealed that a wild and dangerous fanaticism made its appearance amongst the new society, and provoked the indignation of the country. For the first few years they seem to have interrupted public worship in the parish church, wherever they opened their mission, and indeed as the means of gaining attention. In London, where these interruptions were

likely to be most offensive, they were carried on with the greatest rudeness. In one church a Quaker, who was a tailor, mounted the pulpit in the midst of divine service, and fell to work upon a piece of cloth; a sign to the people that their church, so called, was not the house of God. Sudden cries, and denunciations in the shrillest voice of coming vengeance, were of frequent occurrence; and more than once there were exhibitions shocking to modesty. A female came into Whitehall chapel in a state of nudity in the midst of public worship, Cromwell himself being present. The same thing was repeated in the time of worship in other places. Thomas Adam, having complained to the Protector of the imprisonment of some Friends in the country, and not finding redress, he took off his cap and tore it to pieces, saying, "So shall thy government be torn from thee and thy house." Some of them denounced judgments upon the whole nation. Some desecrated the Lord's day, as a legal ordinance which ought to be treated with contempt. The historians of the Society of Friends have not thought it necessary to place these extravagances on record. They received no encouragement from Fox, or the ministers who laboured with him; and if any one, they say, swayed by human passion, commits any excess which is disapproved of by his fellow-members of the church, then such an act cannot fairly be imputed to the Society with whom he is connected. The force of this defence depends, of course, on two considerations: first, how far these excesses were the legitimate result of the principles maintained by the whole body; and secondly, supposing them to have no legitimate connection with those principles, how far the healthy portion of the Society discountenanced the follies of its erring members. Still, supposing the leaders of the Society of Friends to have been entirely blameless in these matters, it would be unjust to pass them by unnoticed, unless we could undertake to be likewise silent upon those shameful persecutions which they so largely tended to provoke, and of which they are, in fact, the sole extenuation. Of the persecutions thus provoked, those of James Naylor were dreadful; they have left a dark stain upon the Puritans of the commonwealth. He was one of Fox's earliest converts, and a preacher at the Bull and Mouth. His popularity, acting upon a mind naturally weak, and fanned by the flatteries of several foolish women, who thought themselves prophetesses, seems to

[redacted]

[redacted] He was censured in London by the [redacted] and was [redacted] Exeter where he was [redacted] He suffered him- [redacted] with [redacted] to attend me by the whole [redacted] of Parliament. [redacted] Released [redacted] in London attended [redacted] through the streets to [redacted] before him. Of the [redacted] they spread their sheets and hand- [redacted] the whole company. He [illegible] He stands in the highest [illegible] They [redacted] with the rest of London that they were [redacted] the latter being the greatest he had [redacted] and set on the House of Commons [redacted] the House for many days and when [redacted] with Winnebeche, a [redacted] of the wisest men of that [redacted] that the [illegible] should [redacted] the overthrow of [redacted] which shameful as it [redacted] That James Naylor be [redacted] in the palsy, in the palace- [redacted] space of two hours on Tuesday [redacted] through the streets from [redacted] Lane's end to Westminster Hall gate, and there likewise [redacted] with his head in the pillory, for the space of [redacted] and that he be set on a horse on Saturday [redacted] next, with a paper containing an inscription of [redacted] and that at the Old Exchange his tongue be bored [redacted] with a hot iron, and that he be there also stigmatized [redacted] with the letter B; and that he be afterwards sent to Bristol, and be conveyed into and through the said city on horseback with his face backward, and there also publicly whipped the next market-day after he comes thither: and that from thence he be committed to prison in Bridewell, London, and there restrained from the society of all people, and there to labour hard till he shall be released by parliament, and during that time be debarred the use of pen, ink,



d paper, and shall have no relief but what he earns by his ily labour."

The sentence was fully carried into effect, against the remon- ances of the citizens, more humane than the House of Com- ons. Naylor lived some years afterwards, awoke from his eam, confessed his errors with deep contrition, and was received ain into the Society of Friends, amongst whom he died.

During the whole of the protectorate, the sufferings of the uakers continued. They still continued to interrupt divine rship in the churches, and were as constantly dragged to the ngeon and the stocks; not unfrequently men and women re publicly whipped; yet they never shrank from persecution, t in general returned immediately to the town or village out which they had been dragged at the cart's tail, and repeated eir protest. The awful solemnity of their manner, their cruel nishments, their courage and their patience, produced a deep pression. Not only the common people, but men of consider- ion in the commonwealth, captains in the army and magis- tes on the bench, espoused their principles, and appear amongst e sufferers for conscience' sake. In many cases the garb and nguage were of themselves a sufficient condemnation; and any harmless persons suffered, against whom nothing was leged beyond the bare fact of their Quakerism.

Cromwell himself showed a disposition to favour the persecuted ct. George Fox was imprisoned at Launceston on an absurd arge of being concerned in a plot for raising forty thousand en to restore Charles II. One of his friends went to Cromwell, d offered to lie in the same prison as a substitute, provided ox might be released. Cromwell's answer was, that he could t give his consent, for it was contrary to law: "But," said he, rning to his council, and duly appreciating this rare instance of sinterested friendship, "which of you would do so much for me, I were in the same condition?" When Cromwell met his rliament in 1656, in the painted chamber at Whitehall, muel Fisher, a Quaker, contrived to obtain admission. The otector in the course of his speech dwelt with a complacency, at upon the whole was not unreasonable, upon the equal ad- inistration of justice which prevailed throughout the kingdom. He knew not," he said, "of any one man that suffered impri- nment unjustly in all England." An unfortunate remark in

the presence of Samuel Fisher! He waited till the speech was [illegible] obtained a convenient standing, he pro[illegible] the burden of the word of the Lord God of heaven and [illegible] earth to Oliver Cromwell, protector, so called, of these three nations, to the parliament, and likewise to the three nations themselves, and all the people thereof." Cromwell and the parliament listened in silence while he opened his solemn charge, but the attendants interfered and the house broke up. Fisher, however, was not molested; and a few days afterwards he published his speech in print as he intended to deliver it.

About this time the Society of Friends first adventured upon foreign missions. In 1655, Burrough and Howgil visited Ireland. They were imprisoned and banished in a few weeks, but others immediately took their place, and Ireland thenceforth became one of the fixed abodes of the Society of Friends. William Caton visited Holland; at Middleburg he was imprisoned, and sent back to England; and some attempts were made in Normandy; but in neither country with much success.

It was in America, the wide field upon which the political virtues of the Quaker system, as well as its religious peculiarities, were to be tried soon after, on so magnificent a scale, by William Penn, that they were now to suffer a long and bitter persecution. In July, 1656, two Quaker women, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, arrived at Boston. Boston had just then sprung into existence under the hands of the English Puritans. For conscience' sake they had chosen the wilderness of America in preference to their native land. They had fled from Laud and the Star Chamber. They professed a high regard for the rights of conscience; and they looked down upon the Church of England with pity and disdain. The hapless Quakers hoped, among men who had felt the smart of persecution, to meet with tolerance if not with favour. They were doomed to a bitter disappointment. England, harsh and barbarous as she was, had been a gentle mother when her conduct came to be compared with that of the New England Puritans.

The arrival of the Quaker women filled Boston with dismay, of which it is impossible to read without a smile. Before they landed their books were seized, and, by an order from the council, [illegible]ut in the market-place by the hangman. They were kept [illegible]ners on board the vessel until the proof of their guilt was

clear. One of them was heard to say thee and thou; they were immediately landed and imprisoned: and, lest the contagion should spread, all persons were forbidden to hold any communication with them by word or in writing under a penalty of five pounds. They were denied pens, ink, paper, and candles, and under pretence that perhaps they were witches were stripped naked. At the end of five weeks they were sent home again, the captain giving bond in one hundred pounds to land them in England and to suffer none of his crew to converse with them upon the voyage.

Scarcely a month passed before a party of eight Quakers arrived by another ship at Boston. They were imprisoned, and sent home again in a few weeks by the same vessel, and a law was passed by the local court of legislation prohibiting the colonists from connivance at the introduction of Quakers into New England under pain of imprisonment. But all these precautions availed nothing. The New England colonies, and particularly the city of Boston, were overrun with Quakers. The usual punishments were tried with the usual effect. Both men and women rejoiced to suffer scourgings and imprisonment, and delivered their message only with more boldness and more success. Endicot, the governor, in other respects a virtuous man, and a chief magistrate of great ability, headed the public feeling against the Quakers, and in his own example taught the disgraceful lessons of barbarity and injustice. The Puritans were indignant that these intruders should violate the sanctuary of pure religion which they had set up at so great a cost; forgetting that they themselves had been sufferers in England under the very same pretext, and that their severities to the Quakers were, so far, a justification of the more lenient sentences which they and their fathers had received from Star Chambers and Courts of High Commission. In 1658 they made a law which imposed a fine of one hundred pounds upon any colonist who should, directly or indirectly, introduce a Quaker, with imprisonment until the penalty was paid; and for every hour's concealment of the outlaw, a further penalty of five pounds. The unfortunate Quaker himself was to be dealt with thus, viz.: "That for the first offence, if a male, one of his ears should be cut off, and he be kept at work in the house of correction till he should be sent away on his own charge. For the second, the other ear, and be kept in the house

of correction, as aforesaid. If a woman, to be severely whipped, and kept as aforesaid, as the male for the first; and for the second offence to be dealt withal as the first. And for the third, he or she should have their tongues bored through with a hot iron, and be kept in the house of correction close at work, till they be sent away on their own charge."

There are two circumstances, besides the greater severity of the punishments inflicted, which seem to give a peculiarly revolting character to the conduct of the New England Puritans. The one is that their clergy were, on almost all occasions, the bitterest persecutors. It was not the outrage of a mob, or the insolent caprice of a country justice, but the calm and dreadful cruelty of a systematic fanaticism. In the second place, the Quakers were punished in New England for offences committed in Great Britain. They were seized, whipped, and imprisoned on their first landing; they had neither interrupted public worship nor denounced, as their manner was, prophetic woes and judgments, when the cruelties exercised upon them had reached to the extent of these whippings and mutilations. The colonial law we have just quoted was merely a measure of prevention.

However, it entirely failed. We should merely disgust the reader to no purpose, were we to recount the barbarities practised upon men and women, the clipping of ears, the lashing, the chaining of neck and heels together, to say nothing of fining and imprisonment, which disfigured the annals of the Boston settlers after this enactment. At length it was resolved, that Quakerism should be made a capital crime. Sewell, the Quaker historian, declares, that the magistrates took this last step in consequence of a petition from the Puritan ministers. "This," he says, "gave encouragement to the magistrates; for since the churchmen pushed on so wicked a business no scruple was made to go on with this bloody work." An Act was made, at a general court held at Boston, the 20th of October 1658, which happily has no parallel in ecclesiastical history, except in the records of the Church of Rome. It condemned Quakers to banishment on conviction of that single crime, and inflicted the penalty of death if they revisited the colony. The sentence might be carried into effect by a majority of the County Court, consisting of three magistrates; that is, "two magistrates might hang a Quaker," as Sewell expresses it, "at pleasure, without trial by jury; a

thing not heard of in Old England." Indeed the whole proceeding was utterly illegal, and the executions beneath this barbarous law were, in truth, judicial murders. The colonists, under a patent, had, it is true, a general power of making laws for their own government; but this power was limited; they could not create new felonies, much less inflict, under statutes of their own, the penalty of death. Both parties were aware of this; the Quakers ever reminding their persecutors, as one of them expressed it on his trial, that "their hearts were as rotten towards the king of England as to the law of God;" and the Puritans making answer too frequently with derision and defiance.

Under this Act many Quakers suffered exile or imprisonment and some were put to death. The list of martyrs and confessors has been treasured up; and in the exhibition of the loftiest graces of the Christian character under cruelty and in the face of death, it is worthy to be compared with the martyrology of any Church of ancient or modern days.

The first victims who sealed their testimony with their blood were William Robinson, a merchant of London, and Marmaduke Stephenson, of Yorkshire, who, together with Mary Dyer, the wife of a respectable colonist, were sentenced to the gallows in October, 1659. Robinson and Stephenson had been banished under the law of the previous year; they soon returned, and paid the forfeit of their lives. Mary Dyer was reprieved after the halter had been put about her neck; for it appears that these cruelties disgusted many of the colonists, and that Endicot, struggling between a sense of shame, and the impulses of fanaticism, was disposed, upon the whole, to spare her life. She was conveyed on horseback, attended by four guards to Rhode Island; in the spring she returned to Boston, and was immediately brought before Endicot, and condemned to die the next day. She was led through the town, guarded with a troop of soldiers, the drums beating all the way, to drown her voice, had she attempted to address the people. She was again beneath the gallows, when a reprieve was offered if she would promise to return into banishment. "In obedience to the will of the Lord I came," she said, "and in his will I abide faithful unto death." She was told that she was guilty of her own blood, to which she made answer thus: "Nay; I came to keep bloodguiltiness from you, desiring you to repeal the unrighteous and unjust law of

banishment under pain of death, made against the innocent servants of the Lord; therefore, my blood will be required at your hands who wilfully do it; but for those who do it in the simplicity of their hearts, I desire the Lord to forgive them. I came to do the will of my Father, and in obedience to His will I stand, even to death." Thus Mary Dyer bore her last testimony to the two great Quaker doctrines of implicit submission to the guidance of the inward light, and of passive quietude in suffering without wrath and almost without remonstrance.

We might give a frightful catalogue of men and women whipped from town to town, through the New England states; but it is enough to show the discipline through which Quakerism passed in its infancy, and the character of the age in which it was cradled so roughly. The people of England and the Parliament were shocked; and Endicot and his friends felt it necessary to send home an apology for their cruelties, and "to vindicate themselves," as they say, "from the clamorous accusations of severity." They advance no extenuation, except the necessity of providing for their own security against "the impetuous, frantic fury" of the Quakers,—the impetuous, frantic fury, to wit, of Mary Dyer!

Other martyrs followed. In 1661 William Leddra and Wenlock Christison thought fit to return from banishment, and were immediately imprisoned in chains. When brought to trial, Leddra asked, reasonably enough, "What evil have I done?" The court answered, that his own confession was as good as a thousand witnesses; that he maintained the innocence of the Quakers who had been put to death; and, moreover, that he kept his hat on in court; and that he said thee and thou. "Will you put me to death," said he, "for speaking English, and for not taking off my clothes?" "A man," replied the court, "may speak treason in English." "And is it treason," he rejoined, "to say thee and thou to a single person?" He received no answer: but ten days afterwards he was hanged, exclaiming, "I commit my righteous cause to thee, O God." Christison was asked upon his trial by Endicot the governor, "What dost thou here?" "I am come here," said the prisoner, "to warn you that you shed no more innocent blood, for the blood which you have shed already cries to the Lord God for vengeance to come upon you." Whereupon it was said, "Take him away, gaoler." He was brought up



again, and tried by a jury, for the colonists now began to fear the opinion of the mother-country; he was brought in guilty, protesting manfully against the iniquity of their proceedings. "I appeal," said he, "to the laws of my own nation; I never heard or read of any law in England to hang Quakers!" His courage saved his life: in a few days, Wenlock and twenty-seven of his friends were set at liberty. Wenlock treated his judges with contempt. "What means this?" said he, "have you a new law, that I am to be set at liberty?" "Yes," said they. "Then," he replied, "you have deceived most people." "How so?" said they. "Because they thought the gallows had been your last weapon." Two of the company, Peter Pearson and Judith Brown, as some atonement for the wounded honour of the magistrates, were stripped to the waist, fastened to a cart's-tail, and whipped through the town of Boston. Soon afterwards an order arrived from Charles II., who was now restored, dated the 9th of December, 1661, commanding Endicot to desist from further proceedings against the Quakers; whatever their offence, and whether they had been condemned or not, they were to be sent over to England, together with the respective crimes and offences laid to their charge, and tried according to the laws of the land at home. Happily for the persecuted Quakers, Governor Endicot died the next year. One of his last acts, in defiance of the crown, was the flogging of a Quaker.

Meanwhile the zeal of the new society had carried its ministers of both sexes into various lands. At Gibraltar, Daniel Baker testified against idolatry, clothed in sackcloth, while the priest was celebrating high mass. Two women opened their mission at Malta, and were laid two years in the inquisition. A mission was attempted on the coast of Barbary, but without success. In Barbados they suffered only less severely than at Boston; besides the usual punishments of imprisonment and scourging, they were compelled to do the work of slaves; one of them was chained to a wheelbarrow for a term of two years, in company with a negro, and some were sold as slaves.

To resume their history at home. A paper was published and laid before Parliament in 1659, in which they recount their sufferings. Some of these, it must be owned, were the legitimate fruit of their own extravagance. At West Chester, a Quaker, judging both priest and people to be exceedingly dark, entered

the church during sermon with a lantern and lighted candle, a sign how much they wanted the illumination of the inner light. He was punished by being thrust into a hole called Little-ease; this was a triangular den common in the prisons of those days, one of which may still be seen in the Tower. The prisoner was so confined that he could neither lie down nor stand, he could only sit in one posture: under this discipline, Sale, the offending Quaker, died. The paper contains a relation of above one hundred and forty persons, who, for the peculiarities of their sect, had been imprisoned. Of these, one and twenty had perished from ill usage, the remainder were still in gaol; the statement declares that in the last six years, about two thousand Quakers had suffered in their goods or persons.

But sufferings had no effect upon such men as George Fox, Howgil, and Burroughs. Towards the close of Cromwell's life, they began to assume the character of a political party, so far at least as to offer remonstrance and advice both to the Parliament and the Protector. When Cromwell was anxious for the crown, Fox remonstrated with him personally, and afterwards sent him a solemn admonition in writing: "O, Protector! who hast tasted of the power of God, keep kingship off thine head, and earthly crowns under thy feet. * * * O, Oliver! take heed of undoing thyself by running into things that will fade; be subject and obedient unto the Lord God." The Protector appreciated the integrity of his monitor, and treated him with kindness: but he wanted the will or the power to protect the Quakers, who, on their part, seldom lost an opportunity of provoking their tormentors. A national fast was proclaimed on account of the persecuted Waldenses; Fox seized the occasion to denounce it as an act of vast hypocrisy to weep for the sufferings of the Vaudois, and, at the same time, to persecute the saints at home. Burroughs wrote to the Protector to warn him that judgment was at hand: and Fox repeated the admonition. Quakers thronged the approaches to the House of Commons, to protest, to their face, against the hypocrisy of its members. One of their women forced herself into the assembly with a pitcher in her hand, which she threw down, exclaiming, that so they should be dashed in pieces.

When Charles II. arrived in London in 1660, hundreds of the Quakers were in prison, and Fox himself was in Lancaster Castle. He was released by an order from the king, at the intercession of

Margaret Fell. She was a Quaker lady of Lancaster (whom Fox afterwards married), who, with a female friend, now made her way to London, and obtained an audience of the young king. She represented to him the hardships which the Society of Friends endured. What truth there was in her representations, and what force in her pathetic eloquence, is told in the fact that, in the year 1660, seven hundred Quakers were at one time released from various prisons in England. Charles and his privy council were even disposed to go farther; an order was prepared for granting them the free exercise of their worship, when Venner's insurrection happened, and all was changed. The Quakers were confounded with the Fifth Monarchy men, and a general persecution began. Margaret Fell again interceded with the king, and the outrages were checked for a time, but the order permitting their public worship, though wanting only the sign and seal, was laid aside.

The Friends now shared in those severe measures which disgrace the legislation of Charles II. towards all Nonconformists. Numbers of them were again in prison, when an Act was passed, in 1662 (xiii. and xiv. Charles II., chapter 1), "for preventing mischiefs and dangers that may arise from certain persons called Quakers, and others, refusing to take lawful oaths." For maintaining the proposition that oaths were unlawful, or for the assembling of five or more, under pretence of joining in religious worship, the offender is fined five pounds for the first offence, and ten pounds for the second; with the alternative of imprisonment in the common gaol for three months for the first offence, and six months, with hard labour, for the second. "For the third offence it shall be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to cause him, her, or them, to be transported into any ship, or ships, to any of his majesty's plantations beyond the seas." Or, simply, thus: a Quaker, thrice convicted of the offence, might be sold into perpetual slavery at Tunis, or Jamaica, or perhaps Barbadoes, or Virginia.

The Act was rigidly enforced. Before the end of 1662, according to a statement published at the time, attested by twelve persons, more than four thousand two hundred Quakers were imprisoned in England; and in London and the suburbs five hundred. Many of these died under their hardships. Their meeting-houses were now closed, and if they attempted to

assemble they were turned out by the soldiers. But they disdained to hide themselves, and their boast was they had never sought shelter in conventicles or secret places. Expelled from the meeting-house, they took refuge in the street. As one preacher was seized and dragged off to prison, another, and a third, stood up in his place. When all the male teachers had been arrested in succession, the women stood up to speak, and shared the same fate. Nay, the Quaker boys sometimes, fired with a zeal beyond their years, took the place of the preacher just imprisoned. These occurrences were by no means unusual in the streets of London.

Quakerism still increased, and the severer sentence of banishment was now put in force. Burroughs sunk in prison, and died at the age of twenty-eight. Howgil soon followed; he too sunk under the hardships of his repeated imprisonments, and died after four years' confinement, in the gaol of Appleby, in 1664. This year, too, great numbers were banished; nineteen were transported at assizes held in October at the Old Bailey, the men to Barbadoes, and the women to Jamaica. In December, the same year, thirty-two men and women were transported to Jamaica for seven years. Keeling and Twisden were the judges on the bench, and both of them were brutal men, infamous for their severity to Nonconformists. In January, 1665, thirty-six were condemned by Keeling to Jamaica; and in February, thirty-four. Some of the jury were reluctant to condemn, and they were fined for refusing to do so. One ship carried out no less than fifty-five of these exiles for conscience' sake. But the crews and captains were exceedingly averse. Foul winds and fearful storms, and the simple, unresisting manners of their captives, convinced them of God's displeasure. In several instances the ships, after lying windbound for weeks, or encountering dreadful storms, landed the prisoners again, the sailors refusing to go to sea until they were rid of their perilous freight. At length, in 1665, no captain was allowed to sail to the West Indies without a pass from the admiral, and this was granted to those only who undertook to carry Quakers.

This state of things continued, with little improvement, till the Conventicle Act of 1670 (xxiv. Charles II., chapter 4), which, though not aimed especially against the Quakers, occasioned fresh severities. The trial of William Penn for preaching at an



assembly in Gracechurch-street was one consequence of this Act. The character of Penn, and the extraordinary influence he afterwards attained as a legislator and the founder of a Quaker colony, claim from us some notice of his life.

He was the son of Admiral Penn, who was high in favour with Charles II. He was sent to Oxford in his youth; and while at Christchurch he was so deeply impressed by the preaching of Thomas Loe and other Quakers, and their patience in suffering, that he at once embraced their principles. He was expelled, and sent by his father in displeasure to France, where he soon forgot his principles, and laid aside his plain garb. Returning home, he was sent to Ireland to manage his father's property. There he met with some of his old acquaintance, and other eminent teachers, of the Society of Friends. His convictions returned, and he himself became a preacher. Sir William Penn, his father, was greatly irritated. He saw all his projects for the advancement of his only son frustrated. Young Penn would not give way so far as to comply with his father's wish that he should take off his hat in his presence, and in that of the king and the duke of York. He was disinherited; but after a while the admiral, convinced of his integrity, gave up the contest, and was reconciled. After leaving Oxford, Penn received the rudiments of a legal education at Lincoln's Inn.

His trial at the Old Bailey, famous in constitutional history, occurred in 1670, when Penn was twenty-six years of age. The meeting-house being closed, and guarded by soldiers, William Penn and William Meade were indicted for preaching at an illegal assembly in the public street. In general the Quakers refused to plead, but Penn and his companion had no such scruple. The recorder and lord mayor, before whom they were tried, were creatures of the court, and the trial was managed on their part with that ruffianism which was characteristic of our penal courts in the days of Jefferies. But the jury were men of another mould, and in them was revived that independent spirit which English juries on political trials had then lost sight of. The jury returned the verdict of "guilty of speaking in Gracechurch-street" against Penn, acquitting Meade. The court refused to accept it, vilified the jury with opprobrious language, and locked them up till they should give a verdict declaring the assembly in Gracechurch-street an unlawful one. They returned,

and again delivered the same verdict in writing, with their names subscribed. The court was enraged, and threatened to starve the obstinate jury into submission. A scene of altercation followed, and the court remanded the prisoners to their gaol, and the jury to their chamber. "You are Englishmen," exclaimed Penn, as they parted; "mind your privileges; give not away your rights." "We never will," rejoined the jury. The next day, though Sunday, the court met; the jury, who had been kept all night, as well as the previous day, without meat, drink, fire, or tobacco, returned the same verdict,—not guilty, in the case of Meade, and guilty of preaching in Gracechurch-street, in that of Penn. The court, with a torrent of abuse, again remanded them. "Your verdict is nothing," said the recorder; "I say you shall bring in another verdict, or you shall starve; and I will have you carted about the city." "It is intolerable," said Penn, "that my jury should be thus menaced; are they not my judges by the great charter of England? What hope is there of justice when juries are threatened, and their verdict rejected?" The jury were again locked up, and the prisoners remanded to Newgate. On Monday, for the third time, their verdict was demanded; it was simply, "not guilty." The recorder accepted it with anger and reluctance, and fined each juryman forty marks, with imprisonment till paid. Penn and his companion demanded their own liberty, but were imprisoned for contempt of court. The contempt consisted in this: they had entered the court without their hats; the judges ordered them to be placed upon their heads; when, the prisoners refusing to take them off again, they were held to be in contempt. Penn was soon released, the fine being paid by his father; but we find him afterwards a prisoner in the Tower. The life of Fox at this period is nothing but a catalogue of the dungeons he tenanted. When set at liberty he preached forthwith, and was instantly recommitted. His time in prison was spent in writing exhortations to the Friends.

During the reign of Charles II. more than two hundred Quakers died in prison, in England only. In the year 1683, above seven hundred were lying in prison. On the accession of James II., in 1685, a petition was presented to the king and both houses of parliament, setting forth "the suffering condition of the peaceable people called Quakers, only for tender conscience towards Almighty God." This tenderness of conscience, it is true,



implied in every instance when the demand was made, a refusal to pay tithes, and, in many cases, an obstinate perverseness in interrupting the public worship of other Christians. For the first of these offences, however, the law provided an easy remedy, without imprisonment; for the second imprisonment was the only cure. Still, the condition of the Quakers, as described in this petition, shows the conduct of our forefathers towards a handful of men whom they themselves believed to be misguided, rather than wicked, in a cheerless and forbidding light.

They complain that in England and Wales above 5,100 of their number had been imprisoned during the late reign; that, of this number, about 1,383, including 300 women, were still confined; that of these, 300, including many women, were imprisoned only because they refused to take an oath, many on writs of excommunication, and for fines due to the king on various pretexts. That since the restoration above 320 had died in prison, of whom 100 had perished within the last five years. That since the Conventicle Act, two years before, their sufferings had increased. In the gaol of Newgate they were crowded in such numbers (sometimes nearly 20 in a single room), that they died of suffocation and malignant fever. In the provincial towns their sufferings were even greater in proportion to their numbers. At Bristol there had been for several years upwards of 100 prisoners in the gaol, of whom 70 were females. In the city of Norwich 70 were "kept in hold, 45 whereof in holes and dungeons." Of lighter punishments there is a dreary list. Many had been ruined "by outrageous distresses and woeful havoc committed by merciless informers," who obtained a third part of the plunder for themselves. Many large manufacturers had been utterly ruined. The Quaker serge-makers at Plymouth once employed 500 people, and their business was at an end. One Quaker in Suffolk, ruined by a long imprisonment, had dismissed at least 200 hands. Many industrious families were impoverished, "without compassion shown to widows, fatherless, or desolate: to some not a bed was left to rest upon, to others no cattle to till their ground, nor corn for bread or seed, nor tools to work withal." The petition concludes thus:—"And notwithstanding all these long sustained extremities, we, the said suffering people, do solemnly profess and declare in the sight of the all-seeing God, who is the searcher of hearts, that as we

have never been found in any seditious or treasonable designs (they being wholly contrary to our Christian principle and profession), so we have nothing but good-will and true Christian affection to the king and government, sincerely desiring his and your safety, prosperity, and concurrence in mercy and truth, for the good of the whole kingdom."

The persecutions of the Quakers had been renewed abroad. From Barbadoes and New England their cry had reached their brethren at home. George Fox determined to visit them, but his wife was in prison. With much difficulty he obtained her liberty, and set forth, leaving her at home, upon his mission. At Barbadoes he made some impression upon the ruling powers. Many of the great ones, especially the governor, showed him much kindness, he relates. He visited Jamaica, and afterwards Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. After an absence of less than two years he returned to England, and was very soon a prisoner in Worcester gaol for holding conventicles and refusing to take an oath. His wife interceded with the king, who would have released her husband by a free pardon. This Fox refused, preferring to have the validity of his indictment tried at Westminster. Sir Matthew Hale was upon the bench; Fox for once had equal justice; the indictment was quashed, and he was set at liberty.

We now take leave abruptly of these wearisome and disgraceful records of persecution. James II., feigning consideration for his nonconforming subjects, set aside the Act of Uniformity and other penal laws against dissenters by his own "dispensing power," that is, by proclamation: for the Parliament, suspecting his design, would not consent to his measures. The nonconformists in general declined to avail themselves of the indulgence, choosing rather to suffer injustice than to obtain relief at the cost of the Protestant cause and of that of the Church of England. The Quakers were the only exception. They accepted the indulgence gratefully, and thanked the king in terms more fulsome than Quakers generally use to persons in authority. "This act of mercy," they say, "which we entertain with all the acknowledgments of a grateful and persecuted people, doth the less surprise us, since it is what some of us have known to have been the declared principle of the king, as well long before, as since he came to the throne of his ancestors." This address came



rom the society in London, and was drawn up, no doubt, at the nstance of Penn. A few days afterwards he presented another ddress to the king at Windsor, which, coming from the whole body, expressed the sentiments of all the Quakers. It is more guarded, but still it expresses no misgivings, and teems with gratitude. Penn added a speech which might have been spared. "It was a great shame," he said, "for any Englishman that pretends to Christianity not to give God his due. By this grace the king has relieved his distressed subjects from their cruel sufferings, and raised to himself a new and lasting empire by adding their affections to their duty." Penn soon after fell into some disgrace, even with his own party, as the king's real intentions were better known; and the question of his integrity has been ever since debated. Mr. Macaulay, in his recent history, decides the matter against him with some severity. The Society of Friends have always regarded him as too credulous, perhaps, and wanting in firmness, and in the unbending integrity of Fox, but upon the whole, even in this affair, a man of upright purposes. It is the only passage of his life upon which a stain has rested.

With their persecutions the extravagances of the Quakers suddenly disappeared. No longer exposed to insult they no longer insulted the feelings of other Christians. Fox himself, now mellowed by years, had become a gentler and wiser man. The gentlemanly habits and courtly connections of William Penn were not without a useful influence on the society. In his travels on the continent he had gained the friendship of several ladies of high rank. His correspondence with the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Frederic V., King of Bohemia, has been published. With great fidelity, it is unsectarian, and not ungraceful. Quakerism was passing, in his hands, into the mild, pacific form which it has since retained. Several men of learning and general ability had appeared amongst them. Robert Barclay, a descendant of the dukes of Gordon, a man of eminent gifts and great endowments, versed in ecclesiastical learning, of sound judgment and powerful understanding, sustained the cause in Scotland. As an author, he defended it in various writings, of which the most important is entitled "An Apology for the true Christian Divinity, as taught and practised by the people called in scorn Quakers." It was written in Latin, and

afterwards published in an English form, with a dedication to Charles II. Upon the doctrines it enunciates we shall make a few remarks hereafter. It proved at least that the men so called were not a mere band of visionaries, much less of idle and ignorant fanatics. Every peculiarity of Quaker doctrine is argued in a close, logical form, and yet, at the same time, in a pure style, defaced neither by the jargon of the old logic nor the newer barbarisms of the unlettered George Fox. The dedication is courteous and manly. He might have told the king that his father had fought and suffered to defend the throne of the Stuarts in the Civil War, distinguished amongst the bravest of the Cavaliers. He was satisfied to remind him that Quakers had been always loyal; that their deeds were not done in secret: under the bitterest persecution they had never, he said, sought refuge in disguise, nor, like other proscribed sects, hid themselves in conventicles. Sewell, the friend of Fox, the great Quaker historian, was a scholar of considerable attainments. And others appeared amongst them, about this time, all devoted to the great principles of the Quaker system, but with little of the fanaticism which had disgraced the proceedings of some of its earlier adherents. In 1690 Fox died, and in the hands of such men the system was, to a certain extent, moulded anew.

Penn's attention had been turned to America for some time by the circumstance of his having been appointed trustee for the management of property in New Jersey. He entered upon his duties with the energy that marked his character, and about 1677 purchased a considerable tract of land, which he added to the trust, and became proprietor of both properties. Some time after, the Government being indebted to his father's estate for money advanced and arrears of pay, no less a sum than sixteen thousand pounds, he proposed to receive in payment a tract of land in America, to be secured to him by letters patent from the king. After many delays his petition was granted; and by charter, dated at Westminster the 4th of March, 1681, and signed by writ of Privy Seal, he was made and constituted full and absolute proprietor of the tract of land which he had pointed out, and invested with the power of ruling and governing it according to his judgment. The charter was made out under the name of Pennsylvania, a name fixed upon by the king, as a token of respect for Admiral Penn, though much against the

wishes of the son, who was apprehensive of its being construed into a proof of ostentation in himself, and was desirous of having it called either New Wales, or Sylvania only. He now resigned his charge of New Jersey, on which he had already tried his scheme of colonization, and in 1682 Penn sailed for his new property, resolved, if possible, to establish at least one righteous government on earth. After taking formal possession of the colony he called a general assembly of the settlers, to whom he propounded the principles of his new commonwealth. Amongst his fundamental laws it was decreed that all persons who acknowledge the supreme Creator and Ruler of the world were to be allowed to worship him in whatever manner they thought best. Those, however, who were appointed to public offices, or places of trust, were to be such as professed themselves to be believers in Jesus Christ, and whose morals were free from blemish. The State undertook to instruct the children after the age of twelve years in some useful trade or profession, that none might grow up in indolence, and become a burden to the rest. His criminal code was humane, and he was, perhaps, the first legislator who punished the criminal with a systematic view to his reformation. Solitary confinement, with hard labour, was the punishment for great crimes, but for murder and treason he reserved the punishment of death. The remainder of his laws may be described as a code based upon the great principle of natural justice,—a systematic attempt to carry out the precept of doing to others as we would that others should do unto us.

His treaty with the Indians, immortalized by the graver and the pen, was a noble instance of strength submitting its pretensions at the bar of equity. Under the shade of a spreading elm-tree, Penn, distinguished only by a blue sash round his waist, and holding a parchment containing the treaty in his hand, was met by the Indian chiefs on the spot where the city of Philadelphia has since arisen. The savages assembled in great numbers with their bows and hatchets; Penn and his friends were few and unarmed. But the experiment succeeded perfectly. Penn did not consider the Letters Patent a sufficient warrant for taking possession of their country, and he now purchased it by a fair and open bargain. The terms of intercourse between the Indians and the settlers were arranged, and an equitable court established by which disputes between the two parties might be settled by a

jury or mixed commission of natives and settlers. Of this famous treaty, Voltaire, with his usual sneer and questionable accuracy, says: "This was the only treaty between those people and the Christians that was not ratified with an oath, and that was never broken." The Abbé Raynal, with more justice, remarks: "Here it is, the mind rests with pleasure on modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust and melancholy which the whole of it, and especially that of the European settlements in America, inspires."

In the first year nearly three thousand colonists arrived, and soon the affairs of Pennsylvania were in so prosperous a state, that Penn, after an absence of five years, returned home on a visit. James II. was now upon the throne; and when the revolution took place in 1688, his well-known regard for the Quaker chieftain brought the latter into no little peril. He was repeatedly arrested as a Jacobite, engaged in plotting the return of his old master. But though a letter was intercepted which James had written to him from his exile, the integrity of his character protected him. The prosecutors never appeared on the day of the trial; and three times arrested for treason, he was as often released. In his absence in England the colony fell into disorder, and his enemies prevailed upon King William to deprive him of his rights, and transfer the government to Colonel Fletcher, governor of New York. The Quakers at home remonstrated on his behalf, and Penn himself addressed a memorial to the king. His suit was granted, and all his rights restored as conceded by the original charter, with a gracious admission that he had been misrepresented. In 1699 Penn once more returned to America; under his care the colony revived, and the foundations were more firmly secured of those principles of justice and benevolence which long continued to distinguish Pennsylvania amongst the other States. But Penn's affairs once more demanded his presence at home. He became involved in embarrassments through the mismanagement of his agent, and found himself in his declining years greatly reduced. His colonists abroad behaved with ingratitude; and on his death, in 1718, Pennsylvania was offered to the government, according to a request in his will, for twelve thousand pounds. We cannot attempt to trace the later history of the colony. It still retains, however, some of the features of its birth. The number of Quakers in America many times

exceeds that in the mother-country, amounting to about one hundred and sixty thousand, by the highest computation; and of these the greater part are still found in Pennsylvania. The native tribes, for whose welfare Penn displayed so much anxiety, have long since disappeared.

The history of the Society of Friends in England since the revolution of 1688 presents few points of general interest. In that great political event they took no share. It could scarcely be expected that they should make the cause of the Church of England, or that of the Protestant dissenters, their own. They had suffered equally from both. In James they had found their only friend. Barclay paid a visit to the bishops in the Tower, to remind them that they too had imprisoned men for conscience' sake; nay, that Quakers had died in prison in consequence of their severity. "But now," said he, "since ye yourselves are under oppression, it is in nowise our intention to publish these matters and exasperate the king against you." In June, the yearly meeting in London addressed James with the warmest gratitude. "We bless God," they say, "and thank the king. The gaols are everywhere clear except in the cases of tithes and the repairs of parish churches, and some few about oaths." In July, James, by an order from his secretary Sunderland, bestowed the freedom of Norwich upon forty Quakers, in compliance with their own petition. This act was clearly illegal; and James's consideration for the Quakers, at the very time he was thrusting a papist into the headship of Magdalen College, imprisoning the bishops, and provoking the nonconformists by his popery, naturally turned the indignation of the people against his supposed allies. They were suspected of being papists, or even Jesuits disguised. But in December James abdicated; the revolution was accomplished without violence, and these suspicions soon died away. The Quakers were indeed amongst the first to taste the blessings of new-bought liberty. In 1689 the penal laws, except the Test Act, were repealed. Instead of the oath of allegiance, their declaration was accepted, and this they willingly transferred to the new sovereigns. They were also obliged to subscribe to the following declaration, before witnesses who declared that the subscriber was not a papist:—"I A. B. profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed for ever-

more; and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration."

In the year 1696 an Act was obtained by which the people called Quakers were permitted, under all circumstances, to make a solemn affirmation instead of an oath. They were excused from serving on juries, or giving evidence, in criminal causes; and, while tithes might on refusal be still levied by distress, the Act provides a remedy against oppression and extortion.

On the accession of Anne, the Society of Friends approached her, through William Penn, with an address of congratulation, to which a kind and gracious answer was returned. A similar address was presented, by George Whitehead as the spokesman, to George I.; and the custom has ever since been observed on the accession of a sovereign.

The Society of Friends does not appear to have increased in England during the last century. In the year 1800 it was computed that the members of the Society, in the whole of Great Britain, amounted to about twenty-four thousand. This includes Ireland, where a vigorous Society was formed in 1668, which holds its own national yearly meeting in Dublin, and sends representatives, since 1670, to the yearly meeting in London. America was then supposed to contain, chiefly in the United States, about one hundred and fifty thousand members. From Barbadoes and the continent of Europe Quakerism had almost disappeared. The Society of Friends, since the days of Penn and Barclay, have attempted no new missions; their passive creed has strongly impressed itself upon their character. They are satisfied to maintain their principles, and to exhibit their efficacy in their own conduct, leaving the world to look on and form its conclusions.

Even the peaceable Society of Friends has not been free from internal discord. A theological question of the first importance was agitated about the close of the last century in Ireland. It was soon revived with great heat in America. Then, crossing the ocean back again, it distracted the Societies in England. A Quaker writer, Isaac Crewdson, speaks of it in 1834, as a "desolating heresy, which in the United States of America has lately swept thousands after thousands of our small section of the Christian Church into the gulf of Hicksism and Deism; a heresy in proportion to our numbers probably unparalleled in extent in

the history of the Church of Christ." Elias Hicks, a Quaker minister of Philadelphia, was the leader of the schism. His doctrines were reviewed at large, and condemned, "at a yearly meeting, held in Philadelphia in the fourth month, 1828," from whose "Declaration" we easily collect the subject-matter of Hicks's teaching. By selections, chiefly taken from his own discourses, it is shown: first, that under the plausible pretext of exalting the light within as the primary rule of faith and practice, he endeavoured to lessen the authority of the Holy Scriptures; and secondly, that when he had greatly impaired the sentiments of reverence justly due to their divine testimony, he proceeded to speak of our blessed Saviour as being merely an example, or pattern to us, and denied that his death was an offering for the sins of mankind, except for the legal sins of the Jews. The first of these charges is abundantly proved in the declaration by quotations, and is severely condemned by the yearly meeting, "who believe it right to bear their decided testimony against such principles, and to disown those who hold them." Yet it appears to us that the first position maintained by Hicks, and at length denounced by the Quakers of Philadelphia, after Quakerism had existed for a hundred and fifty years, is precisely that which Fox himself enunciated, and to which all his associates adhered. The question is a very simple one:—what is the ultimate rule of life and doctrine? Is it the inner light, or the written word? Hicks maintained that it was the inner light; so too did Fox and Barclay. The reader will remember Fox's protest in the "steeple-house at Nottingham," which was indeed the first occasion of all his sufferings. The preacher whom he interrupted declared that "all doctrines, opinions and religions must be tried by Scripture." "O no!" exclaimed Fox, "it is not the Scriptures, but it is the Holy Spirit by which opinions and religions are to be tried." Nor was this an unguarded sentiment; on the contrary, it was the basis of the system which he taught. Barclay, the ablest defender of the Quaker doctrine who has yet appeared, defends this proposition with the utmost pertinacity. We must place it before the reader in his own words:—

"The Scriptures of truth contain, &c.; nevertheless, because they are only a declaration of the fountain, and not the fountain itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground

of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the *adequate primary rule of faith and manners*. Nevertheless as that which giveth a true and faithful testimony of the first foundation, they are and may be esteemed a *secondary rule, subordinate* to the *Spirit*, from which they have all their excellence and certainty; for, as by the inward testimony of the Spirit we do alone truly know them, so they testify that the Spirit is that guide by which the saints are led into all truth; therefore according to them the Spirit is the first and principal leader."—*Apology*, 4to ed. 1765, p. 5.

The orthodox party of the Society of Friends, as represented by Crewdson, deny "the assumption that we are authorised to be taught the true knowledge of God and his salvation, our duty to Him and our fellow-men, immediately by the Spirit independently of his revelation through the Scriptures." They maintain, "that the impressions made upon our minds are to be brought to the test of Scripture." It appears to us that Fox and Barclay taught precisely the reverse of this. We have looked with anxiety into the writings of Joseph John Gurney to ascertain his views upon this important subject; and we cannot resist the conclusion (though he himself would probably have protested against it) that his theory of the perceptible influence and guidance of the Spirit, goes, in fact, to the full length of Barclay in the proposition just recited. "With Friends," he says, "it is a leading principle, on which they deem it to be, in a particular manner, their duty to insist, that the operations of the Holy Spirit in the soul are not only immediate and direct, but perceptible; and that we are all furnished with an inward guide or monitor, who makes his voice known to us, and who, if faithfully obeyed and closely followed, will infallibly conduct us into true virtue and happiness, because he leads us into a real conformity with the will of God." This surely asserts an individual inspiration as much as Fox and Barclay, and in the same sense in which it is maintained by Hicks himself.

Upon the second point, Hicks was, it is equally capable of proof, guilty of teaching doctrines which the Society of Friends have always abhorred. In Quaker theology his principles were true, but his inferences were erroneous. The system which Barclay defends is that of evangelical Arminianism, though with some peculiarities. He denies, for instance, that infants are born in sin in consequence of Adam's fall; but he allows

in practice that all are sinners and need redemption. He admits the article of justification by faith, but rejects both the Roman Catholic and Protestant expositions of the doctrine. His own view being that works are, as he expresses it, a *causa sine quâ non*. Hicks and his followers, on the other hand, deny the atonement and the fall, and teach a system of mere Deism. Hicks maintains, for instance, "that the native Indians of America have a higher sense of the Divine light of God in the soul than the professors of Christianity generally have. They appeal to it abundantly, especially those who have never had any intercourse with other nations." This is pure Deism. Many of his propositions deny the Trinity.

From these, and perhaps from other causes, the Society of Friends, divided amongst themselves and unsettled in some measure as to their rule of faith, have made few converts during the present century. At least their numbers have not increased. In 1800 they possessed 413 meeting-houses; while the number returned by the census in 1851 was only 371. They say, however, that this does not necessarily indicate a smaller number of professors; since of late there has been a considerable tendency amongst them to migrate from the rural districts, and to settle in the larger towns. But their zeal in works of practical benevolence knows no decay. In this their small community stands unrivalled, almost unapproached. If the opinions of their leaders should seem to disparage the sacred volume, their followers, with a happy inconsistency, are the zealous and unwearied advocates of its diffusion through the world. In them the Bible Society has always met with its most staunch supporters. Without their powerful assistance, Wilberforce would have declaimed in vain on the horrors of the middle passage, and Sir Fowell Buxton, himself of Quaker blood, on the abolition of slavery. Quakers are not a boastful people, or they might challenge contradiction to the fact that no considerable movement has taken place during the last half-century, on behalf of the poor, the abject, or the guilty, which did not either originate with themselves, or from them at least receive the impulse which gave it popularity, and crowned it with success. Mrs. Fry carried out that reformation of our prisons which Howard had begun. To Allen we are indebted for being amongst the first to arouse the country on the subject of national education. Reynolds, of Bristol, taught us the sys-

tematic visitation of the poor. In short, wherever a Quaker community exists, it is the centre of philanthropy and the example of the surrounding district. Since the repeal of the Test Act, 3 and 4 Wm. IV., c. 49, they have been eligible to seats in Parliament; and one or two members of the Society of Friends have generally sat in Parliament, and often for large constituencies. Manchester is now represented by a member of the Society of Friends.

For an explanation and defence of the religious peculiarities of the Quakers, we may refer the reader to the writings of the late Mr. J. J. Gurney. They reject the Sacraments on the ground that they were typical rites; the ordination of ministers by the imposition of hands, or otherwise, on the ground that a Divine call is necessary, and a human one superfluous; the pecuniary remuneration of the ministers of the gospel, because "the hiring of a preacher degrades the character and corrupts the practical operation of the ministry." The ministry of women is defended from the examples of the Old and New Testament; and silent worship by considerations drawn from the majesty of God and the nature of true religion. They believe oaths unlawful from a strict interpretation of our Lord's words in his sermon on the Mount, and from other passages of Scripture; and they denounce war, under all circumstances, as utterly inconsistent with the example of Christ and the precepts of the New Testament.

Their Church government is so peculiar, differing in many points from that of every other denomination, that it will be necessary to lay a brief sketch of it before the reader. It seems well suited for maintaining discipline in a comparatively small and select community, and it presents some points which might perhaps be copied with advantage in larger Churches.

The members of the Society of Friends unite as a distinct body not only for the performance of public worship according to the mode which they believe to have been intended by Jesus Christ, but also for the maintaining of a Christian discipline. By means of this discipline they are of opinion that their union as a religious society receives additional strength, and that they are enabled, with increased effect, to co-operate for their own mutual good.

The considerations which chiefly determine the local meeting or *congregation* to which each individual belongs are sometimes

the relative number of members of which a congregation consists, but more frequently the vicinity of the meeting-house to his own residence. And the rules and regulations of the society are, of course, obligatory upon every individual who continues to be a member of it.

The members of each congregation assemble once a month, at the conclusion of a meeting for worship; and they then constitute a preparatory *meeting for discipline*. Certain queries, directed by the yearly meeting to be answered at stated periods, form a part of the business of these meetings. The overseers or other members impart such information respecting the occurrences among themselves as may appear necessary. Generally two members are appointed representatives to the ensuing monthly meeting; and the answers to the queries, together with such information as it may be necessary to communicate to the monthly meeting, are here prepared, to be transmitted to it by the representatives. Hence these local meetings of discipline are sometimes denominated *preparative meetings*.

In some places the members of a single congregation constitute a monthly meeting for discipline; but where the members are less numerous, the association of two, or more than two, preparative meetings or congregations, within a stated district, constitutes one *monthly meeting*. Monthly metings are often denominated by the names of the places where they are most frequently held; but several of them take their names from some other appropriate circumstance.

A *quarterly meeting* generally comprises the members resident in one county, and it usually consists of the several monthly meetings within such county. It has been found expedient in several instances to unite the monthly meetings of two or more counties in which the members were not numerous, especially in Ireland, under the jurisdiction of one quarterly meeting.

The members of the society in the states of New England, New York, Maryland, and Virginia, have we believe each their distinct *yearly meeting*. Those members who reside in Pennsylvania and New Jersey associate together for this purpose, as do those of several other states. Each of these yearly meetings, as well as the *yearly meeting of Great Britain* (usually denominated the yearly meeting held in London), possesses, within its appropriate district, the supreme legislative and judicial power

in all that respects the discipline of the Society. The yearly meeting of each district is independent of the others. A mutual correspondence between them and the yearly meeting held in London is, however, generally maintained by means of epistles from the several annual meetings.

A communication is maintained between each general yearly meeting of discipline and the several quarterly meetings within its appropriate district. A similar communication is maintained between each quarterly meeting of discipline and the several monthly meetings of which it is constituted; and between each monthly meeting of discipline and the several local meetings or congregations of which the monthly meeting is constituted.

This communication is preserved by means of representatives from the preparative meetings of each congregation, to the monthly meeting of which it forms a part; from each monthly to the quarterly meeting, and from each quarterly to the yearly meeting. Each of these meetings is usually attended by a considerable number of members besides the representatives; and at every meeting for the purposes of general discipline any member of the society may attend and assist in its deliberations.

The men and the women have each their separate province, and hold their meetings apart, except at the select meetings of ministers and elders, in which both sexes meet together. For the purpose of obtaining information upon the state of the society, and for directing the attention of its members to those points on which the care of each may be profitably employed, certain queries and advices are framed; and it is directed that the queries should be read and considered, and the answers to them transmitted at stated periods. These answers are given first at the preparative meeting of discipline for each congregation, and thence communicated by their representatives to the monthly meeting, and lastly, in substance, to the yearly meeting.

The appointment of elders, in each particular congregation, is made by the monthly meeting for discipline, assisted by a committee appointed for this purpose by the quarterly meeting; and it is directed that the elders be selected from among those members whose exemplary conduct, and religious attainments, render them best qualified for this important station. It is their province to exercise a suitable care, that whatever be delivered in meetings for public worship, either as preaching or prayer,

shall have a tendency to edification. If anything should be delivered which may be deemed objectionable, with regard either to its import or the temper, manner, or time of its delivery, the elders are expected to administer suitable advice to the party. Should this prove ineffectual they are then to lay the case before the men's monthly meeting for discipline—the only tribunal which is competent in the first instance to pass judgment or censure upon the conduct either of ministers, elders, or any other members. But if any individual should think himself aggrieved by the decision of a monthly meeting, he is at liberty to appeal from it to the judgment of the quarterly meeting, and in like manner from the decision of the latter to the judgment of the yearly meeting, whose decision is final.

The literature of the Society of Friends, on which we offer in conclusion a few remarks, is naturally tinged by the circumstances and strong peculiarities of the body. Shut out by scruples of conscience from the universities, the liberal professions, and the exclusive cultivation of the fine arts, their field of literary exercise has been greatly narrowed. Yet Quakers have appeared from time to time in almost every department of literature, of art, and science, whose attainments were of a high order. Benjamin West as a historical painter once ruled the academy, and still has many followers; but it must be owned that he met with little encouragement in his studies as an artist from his Quaker friends. Bernard Barton and Mrs. Opie were thought five and twenty years ago to contest the palm with Cowper and Miss Edgeworth. Barton's poems, artless and unassuming, have real merit, and some of his devotional pieces deserve higher praise. Mrs. Opie condescended to write for children and the young, satisfied with the ambition of doing good. Her tales, marked by strong sense and skilful management, stand high in a class of writing in which excellence is not less rare than mediocrity is common. The writings of J. J. Gurney on the doctrines of Christianity, and on the Redemption, obtained a circulation far beyond the Society of Friends, and retain a place in our theological literature. In medical science and chemistry the Friends have long been distinguished; for upwards of a century some of our greatest physicians have been members of their community.

But the true Quaker literature is to be sought in a thousand pamphlets which addressed themselves to some palpable griev-

ance of the age, and pointed out the way for its removal. Quakerism, in practice, deals with facts not with theories or abstract principles. It bends all its force against some present evil—a neglected populace, a mismanaged prison, an unrighteous war. It attacks in detail, and though its triumphs are great they are won silently. If its literature be obscure, it is because it has sought for usefulness in a field which men conscious of a powerful intellect have unhappily disdained. We have visited Newgate with Mrs. Fry, and seen with her, in one forenoon, the materials for volumes of romance. But the Society of Friends, never anxious to decorate the scene of their own labours, have left to others the rude materials out of which poetry, or history, or fiction may be built, and passed on to other scenes of uninviting toil.

(*Foxe's Journal; History of the people called Quakers, by William Sewel; Apology for the people called Quakers, by Robert Barclay; Baxter's Life, by himself; Neale's History of the Puritans; Life of William Penn; Narrative of Events in Ireland among the people called Quakers* (*by William Rathbone*), 1804; *Extracts from the Minutes and Advices of the People, &c.; Declaration of the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in Philadelphia*, 1828; *A Beacon to the Society of Friends, by Isaac Crewdson*, 1835; *Observations on the Religious Peculiarities of the Society of Friends, by J. J. Gurney; Memoirs of William Allen and Elizabeth Fry.*)

GREEK CHURCH.—Buried beneath the ruins of a fallen empire, the Eastern Church drags on a lingering existence. Her internal strength seems just sufficient to preserve the last sparks of life; and this she owes in no small measure to the support of foreign powers and to the dearly-bought forbearance of her Mahommedan masters. In tracing the expiring form of this decayed fabric, we search in vain for those striking features which mark her ambitious rival in the West. We have few instances of deep learning, or vast ability, or intense devotion to her interests in her sons. Misfortune has placed the temporal power beyond the reach of her ambition, or it never was her aim to rule nations or place her foot upon the neck of kings. We

propose to trace a brief sketch of the Greek Church from the period of its first separation from the western communion, during the reign of Constantine the Great, down to the present time.

The circumstances which led to that separation and the causes which prepared the way for it, are clearly marked. The Greek Church owes its existence, as a separate communion, to the will of Constantine. With the plan of the Roman constitution before him, he determined to remodel the Church by the appointment of four ecclesiastical rulers, in imitation of the ancient prætors. This was the origin of the bishops or patriarchs, as they were afterwards called, of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria.

When he transferred the seat of empire to Byzantium and built Constantinople, Constantine opened a new era in the history of the Church. The bishops of Constantinople soon began to lay claim to the dignity and rank of the Roman pontiff. Constantinople was now the capital of the world, and its bishops would yield to none in honour and magnificence. The pride of the emperor seems to have encouraged the hopes of the bishops. In the council held at Constantinople in the year 381, the bishop of that city was ranked next after the bishop of Rome, and consequently above those of Alexandria and Antioch. On this occasion the power of the Greek Church was first tried against that of the Latin bishops. The bishop of Rome complained with bitterness of the attempt to throw off his authority, but the decision of the council was supported by the authority of the emperor Theodosius the Great. Alexandria was compelled to resign her claim to supremacy in the East, and Nectarius, the youngest of the patriarchs, was the first who enjoyed the new dignity. The sudden elevation of the Byzantine prelate was viewed with equal jealousy by Rome and Alexandria. What was first complained of as an irregularity, succeeding prelates resented as a wrong, and time instead of softening their differences only widened the breach: and the strife thus began ended at length in the entire separation of the Greek and Latin Churches.

John, surnamed Chrysostom, or the golden tongue, from the force and beauty of his language, next succeeded as chief or patriarch of the Eastern Christians. By far the greatest man the Eastern Church can boast, his piety and genius must always

be revered, and his writings explain and justify the influence he once possessed. He was born at Antioch A. D. 347, an orphan of a noble family; his mother, Anthusa, devoted herself to the education of her son, and from her his first lessons of piety were learned. Proudly conscious of his abilities, she placed him under the most accomplished tutors. Under Libanius he studied oratory and philosophy; under Adragathius of Athens his admirers relate that, at the age of twenty, he pleaded in the forum with wonderful success. Meletius, the bishop of Antioch, guided his studies in theology; and with the help of Diodorus, and the presbyters of Antioch, he learned sacred history. Shortly after his mother's death he withdrew himself to the mountain districts near Antioch, where, under the austere garb of a hermit, he spent some years. Wearied with the rigours of a useless life, and broken down in health, he returned to Antioch, where he was ordained deacon and presbyter successively. Here he began his career as an eloquent preacher. His style was diffuse and oriental, it moved the feelings and inflamed the imagination of a languid people; and for twelve years he continued to preach to throngs of enthusiastic listeners. His fame was so well established, that on the death of Nectarius he was chosen by the emperor Arcadius, in preference to a number of ecclesiastics ambitious of the honour, to fill the vacant see of Constantinople. Chrysostom, as his treatise on the priesthood testifies, entertained a slavish and superstitious dread of the responsibilities of the Christian ministry. He had trembled to become a deacon, and had already once refused the episcopate. To provide against a second refusal he was invited to Constantinople in ignorance of the office that awaited him, and his scruples were overcome by surprise. He was consecrated by Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, who afterwards became one of his fierce opponents.

The life of Chrysostom shows the vices and corruptions of the Eastern Church in strong relief; while his writings show, that in doctrine, she had closely followed the superstitions of the West. From his elevation to the episcopate, his whole life was an unsuccessful struggle against the most licentious practices, and the most gross abuses. He seems to have been deficient in practical wisdom; an eloquent declaimer, the idol of the multitude, the scorpion of a luxurious court. In the mountains of Antioch he had practised the wildest asceticisms; living in a

cave without a bed or chair, in silence and solitude, and eating only vegetables. The Christians of Constantinople indulged in luxuries of which many a virtuous heathen would have been ashamed. The clergy were slothful and ignorant, and their habits were not unfrequently licentious. Chrysostom assailed their vices with the intrepidity of a Luther. He degraded within two years of his accession to the episcopate no less than thirteen bishops in Asia Minor, on the charge of simony and for other crimes. His mortifications, his self-denial, his contempt of the world, his diligence in visiting the sick, formed a striking contrast with the luxurious indolence of his clergy, and roused their hatred. Many of his homilies are directed with great severity against female vices; and those of the empress Eudoxia herself did not escape his severe invectives. Her resentment was probably the cause of all those reverses which now followed. The deposed bishops, led on by Theophilus, a prelate of infamous character, and assisted by the Egyptian bishops, glad of an opportunity to humble the rival Church, assembled in council at Chalcedon in 403, and summoned Chrysostom to appear before them. Forty-two charges were produced, of which one was that he had called the empress a second Jezebel. He declared the synod illegal, and refused to appear before it; but sentence was pronounced, and he was condemned to be deprived and banished. But his judges found it more easy to condemn than to punish a man so beloved by the people. They guarded him day and night to prevent the execution of the sentence. The city was threatened with an insurrection on his account, when, dreading the consequences, he at length gave himself up, and went into exile to Bithynia. An earthquake, which happened soon afterwards, aroused the slumbering conscience of Eudoxia, and the weak Arcadius was terrified by the indignation of the citizens. After only a few weeks' absence the patriarch was suddenly recalled. His return to Constantinople resembled the triumphant progress of a conqueror.

But Chrysostom's warmth of temper again hurried him into violence, and his language scarcely became the dignity of a Christian bishop. Shortly afterwards, a silver statue of the empress was erected in the city near one of the churches. The outrageous lewdness of the pagan festivities on that occasion aroused his spirit. He addressed Eudoxia with the rough sim-

plicity of honest indignation; he vented his abhorrence in the bitterest invectives against what he called this "new Herodias." His violence procured his banishment a second time—now, to Cucusus in Armenia. His exile was for some years devoted to missionary labours, especially among the Goths and Persians. His frame at length sunk under the weight of his misfortunes, aggravated by the cruelty of his persecutors: he died on the 14th September, 407, on his road to Pityus, from the fatigue of the journey, and thus ended a stormy life of sixty years. He expired at Comana, in Pontus, where he was buried: his body was afterwards carried to Constantinople.

By the second council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, another step was taken towards the advancement of the Greek Church. It was resolved that the rights and honours claimed by the bishop of Rome were equally due to the bishop of Constantinople; and all those provinces in the east which were not claimed by the patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, were annexed to the patriarchate of Constantinople: this claim, however, became a fruitful source of those internal dissensions in after years which so distracted the peace of the Church at home, and weakened its influence abroad. These decrees of Chalcedon were, of course, violently opposed by the Roman pontiffs, at the head of whom stands Leo the Great, as well as by the other patriarchs; but the emperors threw their weight into the scale, and the Church of which Constantinople was the metropolis always triumphed. The oppressive consequences of their pretended superiority were soon felt at Antioch and Alexandria. No bishop of the imperial city was more conspicuous for his arrogant ambition than Acacius. It was about this time that the bishop of Jerusalem, encouraged by the emperor Theodosius the Younger, withdrew his Church from the jurisdiction of Cæsarea, and assumed the style of patriarch of Palestine; thus declaring himself independent of all spiritual authority, and invading the rights of the bishop of Antioch by encroaching on his provinces of Phœnicia and Arabia. There were now, including the bishop of Rome, five patriarchs; to whom the patriarch of the Russian Church must be added. Amongst the rights or privileges of their high office, the patriarchs claim to consecrate the bishops of their several provinces. Formerly they convoked the clergy once a year to regulate the affairs of the Church:

all important causes and controversies are referred to their decision; even the bishops may be accused before them of heresy or misconduct, and must submit to their decision; and they may appoint vicars or deputies, to take the oversight of distant provinces.

Of the origin and history of the Arian controversy, condemned at the council of Nice, A.D., 325, and by that of Constantinople in 381, we have given an outline (see ARIANS), to which we refer the reader. The heretics rejected from the Church, formed the Monophysite party, so called because they acknowledge our Saviour only in one nature. To quiet the disturbance occasioned by this controversy, the emperor Zeno, in 482, published an edict called the Henoticon, or deed of union, in which he repudiated the errors of Nestorius and Eutyches, but without recognizing the decisions of the council of Chalcedon; this slight upon a general council was avenged by the pope upon the patriarch of Constantinople, who was excommunicated by Felix II. He was for some time supported by the three other patriarchs, but, at length, yielding to Rome, the canons of Chalcedon were received throughout the Eastern Churches.

The state of religion was now deplorable; it seemed as it advanced in splendour to recede from its purity. Upon the first introduction of Christianity among the pagans, attempts had been made by foolish men to reconcile them to the change by the adoption of heathen rites. The tumultuous pomp with which Pan and Bacchus had been worshipped was now imitated in Christian processions. The virtues of heathen temples were ascribed to Christian churches; their lustrations to the statues of departed heroes were superseded by the sprinkling of holy water, consecrated by certain forms of prayer to legendary saints. The rise of image-worship may be distinctly traced: the Church was disturbed by subtle distinctions to justify image-worship, under various names and pretexts; and when, at length, the practice was condemned by the council of Constantinople, in 734, its authority was denied by the Latins.

To this period may be referred another difference which continues, to this day, to separate the Greek Church from the rest of Christendom; this is, the question of the procession of the Holy Ghost, technically called the filioque controversy. It originated in an alteration made by the Spanish Church in the creed of Constantinople. The form had previously ran—"The

Holy Ghost, which proceedeth from the Father;" with the Spanish addition it read, "which proceedeth from the Father and the Son:" this change was afterwards introduced into the Churches of France and Germany. In 767 the Greeks began the conflict by accusing the Latins of heresy upon this point. The remonstrance, at first unheeded, at length aroused the resistance of the papal Church, convinced at first with more moderation than she usually shows towards her opponents. Pope Leo III. is said to have looked upon the tenet without disapproval, but he refused to insert it in the creed. By his direction copies of the belief as drawn up at Constantinople, were engraved on silver plates, one in Latin and another in Greek, and publicly exhibited in the church. The question was revived in the following century with greater vehemence, and each of the Churches, retaining its own creed, charged its opponent with heresy and schism.

It has been the misfortune of the Greek Church that its historians have been members of a hostile communion. During the middle ages we are indebted for our acquaintance with it entirely to the Latin writers. It is probable that their colouring is often false, for their sentiments are always hostile. Yet, if their outline of facts be true, the Eastern Church shared deeply in the degradation of Western Christendom. Through many a dreary century there is little to relate beyond internal dissensions, or angry recriminations with the Church of Rome. The conversion of the Sclavonic nations is the one bright spot, relieving the darkness of the eighth century.

During the reign of Ruric, the founder of the Russian empire, two Scandinavian chieftains, named Oskold and Dir, were led by an adventurous spirit to undertake an expedition to Constantinople. They probably set out with the intention of entering the imperial service, which was frequently done by their countrymen; but having seized the town of Kioff on their way, they established a dominion of their own. This unexpected success inspired them with the hope of further conquest. Their forces were swelled by fresh arrivals of their countrymen, as well as by natives of the countries through which they passed, who, allured by the hope of sharing in the pillage, gathered round them in large bodies. Following the course of the Dnieper, this piratical expedition at length reached the shores of the Thracian Bosphorus. After committing great ravages, they suddenly beset

the imperial city with more than two hundred armed boats. Dismay at this bold invasion drove the emperor and his subjects to the priests for advice; and a miraculous robe of the Virgin was produced at this emergency, carried in solemn procession, headed by the patriarch, to the shore, and cast into the waves. As the garment sank to the bottom, the sea boiled up with rage, a sudden storm arose, and shattered the Russian fleet. This sudden deliverance was attributed by the terror-stricken people to the miraculous aid of the Virgin herself. It is related that the Russians, equally overawed by the miracle, demanded baptism on the spot.

A circular letter of the patriarch Photius, at the close of 866, gives colour to this account; but whatever may have been the exact circumstances under which the first germ of Christianity appeared amidst the barbarism that then prevailed over those dark regions, there are many traces of the gospel having begun about that time to make its appearance amongst the Sclavonic races of the Dnieper and their Scandinavian conquerors; kept alive, no doubt, by the commercial intercourse which then existed between these Sclavonians and the Greek colonies in the northern shores of the Baltic, whence (as Count Krasinski explains in his valuable "Sketch of the Sclavonic Nations") traders probably visited Kioff and other Sclavonic countries. — (See RUSSIAN CHURCH.)

At home the energy of the national character was lost, and the empire was giving way. Rome never ceased her attempts upon the independence of the Greek Church; and the embarrassment of the emperors, and the misfortunes of the city, were always the signals of fresh offers of union. Sometimes the rivals approached each other in the attitude of peace, sometimes they thundered mutual excommunications. In the year 858, we find the patriarchal throne occupied by Photius, a layman and a minister of state, to make room for whom Ignatius had been deposed. Photius, if no divine, was an able statesman. Under him the Russian empire was received into the Greek communion, and Bulgaria was added to the empire. The pope espoused the cause of Ignatius, and excommunicated Photius. The dread of his anathemas still lingered in the West, and after nine years of exile, Ignatius was restored. The pope, Nicholas, not yet appeased, repeated the sentence of excommunication against Photius,

including in it those bishops who had received consecration at his hands. Photius avenged himself by summoning a general council, which in its turn excommunicated the pope. To make the farce complete, Photius appeared before the council to plead the cause of the pope; whose chief offence appears to have been, that the legates of Rome had succeeded in Bulgaria in rejecting the chrism, or consecrated oil of Photius, which was used in baptism, and substituting their own unction instead. At this council twenty bishops subscribed the unqualified condemnation and deposition of the pope. Photius, exulting in his triumph, addressed a circular letter to the Eastern Churches. He congratulates the patriarch of Alexandria and his bishops on the increase of faith and the extinction of heresy. The Armenians, he rejoices to add, had withdrawn from the heresies of the Jacobites (a Monophysite sect, the followers of Jacobus, an Egyptian monk), and the Bulgarians had thrown off their heathen superstitions; though he regrets that some ill-designing persons had been sent from the dark corners of the West to nip those tender plants in the bud, and corrupt the purity of the gospel by their false doctrine. The heresies of which Photius complains, tell us how entirely the true spirit of the gospel had been lost on both sides, while frivolities and senseless ceremonies occupied the place of the law of God. He complains that the pope commanded a fast on Saturdays; that he cut off the first week in Lent; that he permitted milk and cheese, and even meat, to be eaten during that time; and, with more reason, that he abhorred all such priests as were legally married; and that he repeated the unction of the holy chrism; and, lastly, he was charged with asserting that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son only—a doctrine, he adds, repugnant to the gospel, and contrary to the teaching of the fathers.

In the meantime, the death of Ignatius had again placed Photius upon the throne. M. Fleury, and other French historians, hint a suspicion that he was poisoned by his rival. Photius begged pardon of the pope, and so did the council that had condemned him. The pope in his submission saw a sufficient inducement to forgive the rebellious patriarch. The legality of his appointment was acknowledged, and all the proceedings against him were disannulled in the most solemn manner at a council held at Constantinople in the year 879. The Greeks

took this opportunity of signing a profession of faith in conformity with their own creed on the procession of the Holy Ghost.

The contest for supremacy never ceased; but nothing can be less interesting, or less important, than its monotonous history. At length, in the fifteenth century, the life of the Byzantine empire was fast ebbing out; its capital was threatened by a Turkish army; and Rome determined to profit by the misfortunes of her rival. Assistance was offered, but submission was the price.

Dismayed at the danger of his empire from the threatened inroads of the Turks, John Palæologus repaired in person to Italy, attended by many of the clergy, to open negotiations with the Roman pontiff. The deputies of the two Churches met at the council of Florence in 1439,—the one to dictate, and the other to submit. The pressing necessities of the moment induced the representatives of the Greek Church to yield a reluctant submission to the terms laid down for them. After a few days of mock deliberation, they consented to acknowledge the twofold procession of the Spirit, the doctrine of purgatory, the supremacy of the pope, and the lawfulness of using unleavened bread in the Lord's Supper. When the result of the council became known, these unauthorised concessions were repudiated with scorn and indignation by the body of the Greek Church. The deputies were hooted as traitors to the faith they ought to have upheld. Isidore, the metropolitan of Moscow, subscribed to this union between Palæologus and pope Eugene IV.; his assent was most liberally rewarded by the pope, who sent him back to Moscow invested with the dignity of a papal legate, and honoured with a cardinal's hat; but on his return he was immediately deposed from his bishopric, and imprisoned in a convent, whence he escaped to Rome, and died there at a great age,—a sufficient proof of the strong feelings which then prevailed against the western encroachments.

In 1453 Constantinople fell, and the power so long wielded by the patriarchs was at the mercy of Mahomet II. The revenues of the Church were seized, a poll-tax was levied upon the clergy and the inmates of the convents of every rank, and Christianity existed only upon sufferance in what had been once the Byzantine empire. The clergy, especially those of the lower orders, sunk into a still lower state of ignorance, from which they

have never since emerged. The Russian Church threw off the last traces of its allegiance, and claimed henceforth the right of nominating an independent patriarch. A Mahomedan government was now the secular head of the Greek Church, and Christians and Mahomedans alike quailed under the Turkish conquerors. The Porte, by a skilful stroke of policy, employed the Greek clergy to overcome the reluctance of their flocks to their new rulers. Thus they became contemptible in the eyes both of Turks and Christians, and their degradation followed. But in fact neither the Greek nor the Russian Church has at any time possessed a faithful, independent, or learned ministry; and, in consequence, the one has always been governed by the Emperor or the Sultan, and the other by the Czar.

For two hundred years we have nothing to relate but the continued degradation of the Greek Church, and the unceasing efforts of the Church of Rome by fraud, by treaty, and by stratagem, to subdue its independence. Poland had received the faith, and was subject to the patriarch of Constantinople. The society of Jesuits had just been formed to repair the mischiefs of the Reformation, and Poland was almost the first arena upon which those arts were tried, which were soon to produce in every kingdom of Europe such disastrous consequences. Sigismund III. caught something of the spirit of the Reformation, and was endeavouring to purify the faith and raise the morals of his subjects. The Jesuits set themselves to counteract his efforts. At Wilna, by establishing a Jesuit-college, they secured a centre of operations. Amongst the people of Luthuania, by force and craft, they introduced their principles. The Protestants and the Greeks seem to have been equally exposed to their intrigues; but the former were the first object of their hatred. As their power increased they excited the people to the most barbarous outrages. The churches were pillaged, the clergy insulted and abused, and their marriages lampooned in doggrel verses, which said little for the wit or morals of the disciples of Loyola, and the libraries of Wilna were purged of all Protestant books. Among other devices they established schools and colleges, which were thrown open, free of expense, to pupils of all religions. They were treated with every indulgence, and to detain them as long as possible under Jesuit influence, they were taught a grammar difficult to be understood. By these means, before the death of

Sigismund, the Protestants were weakened; and they now began to attack the Greek Christians.

The Greek Church in Poland included more than half the population. Among its members were many noble families who filled its most important offices. One of these was selected by the Jesuits as a fit tool to accomplish their long-cherished scheme of a union with this branch of the Greek Church. Michael Kahoza had been educated in their schools, and was strongly imbued with their principles. Already a Jesuit in heart, he took orders in the Greek Church in order that he might betray it to the pope. At length he was promoted to the archbishopric of Kioff, and received written instructions how to guide his conduct without awakening suspicion.

As a curious specimen of the unscrupulous means to which they resorted, we give an extract, translated from the Polish language, by Count Krazinski. It forms part of the instructions addressed to the archbishop upon this occasion, from the college of Jesuits at Wilna:—

"It will be indeed the source of great comfort to the Catholics when they shall see the long-desired union accomplished by the care of such a great pastor as yourself. It is indeed not a little impediment to our saintly intentions which has already been removed, since the election of the prelates and metropolitans begins to pass from the hands of the nobles, who have partly guessed our zeal in converting the followers of the Greek Church and may afterwards guess more, and, therefore, it is to be feared that they might present to the function which you are administering, such subjects as might destroy the foundation of the good work and edifice which you have begun. With regard to the clergy, you may keep them in submission more easily by the following means:—appoint to all vacant places no people of consequence, because they may be unruly; but simple poor, such as will entirely depend upon you. Put down and deprive of their benefices, under some pretence or other, all those who will oppose or disobey you, and give their benefices and revenues to those upon whom you may rely: however, exact from each of them an annual payment for your see; but take care also that they shall not become unruly by being in too good circumstances; therefore translate those whom you may suspect from one place to another according as circumstances may require. It will do

no harm to reduce others, entrusting them, *per speciem honoris*, with commissions of consequence, but performed at their own expence. Train up the protopapas betimes to follow your usages. Impose taxes upon the parish priests for the general benefit of the holy Church, and take particular care that they shall not convene synods nor hold any meeting without your authority. If some of them should dare to disobey in this respect your severe orders, *ad carceres* with them. With regard to the laity, be as careful as possible that they shall have no cause to suspect your real plans and intentions; therefore, should there be any apprehensions of war with them, we advise you not to attack them openly, but rather in time of peace to catch and to gain over the leading men amongst them, doing it either by your tools, only rendering them some services, or simply by gifts. Ceremonies must not be suddenly introduced into your church; this may be gradually effected. Disputes and controversies with the Western Church are *in speciem* not to be neglected, and similar other means are to be employed in order to cover every trace of your undertaking, by which not only the eyes of the populace but even those of the nobles may be blinded. Separate schools may be opened for their youths, provided the pupils are not prohibited from frequenting Catholic churches, and completing their education in the schools of our society. The word union must be entirely banished; it will not be difficult to substitute another word more supportable to the ears of the people. 'Those who attend elephants must not wear red coats.' We monks shall not be wanting to assist this work, not only by our prayers but by our labours in the vineyard of the Lord."

The proposals of union were first broached in 1590, at Brest, in a synod of the clergy, by whom they were not unfavourably received, but they met with great opposition flom the laity, who had not been permitted to share in the promises of Rome to the same extent.

Four years afterwards consent to the union, concluded at Florence in 1438, was subscribed to by the archbishop and many of the bishops, retaining the Sclavonic language in the service, and the ritual of the Eastern Church. The announcement of this event gave great satisfaction at Rome, and in 1596 the synod of Brest publicly proclaimed the act of union between

the two Churches. This forced alliance, in spite of all the ingenuity by which it had been brought about, gave great offence to most of the clergy as well as to the greater part of the people, whose numbers had happily proved their security, in placing them beyond the reach of bribes or the hope of future advantage.

It was at first met with bitter remonstrances; but remonstrance proved in vain, and ended in resistance. The Polish Church was now divided into two parties: those who joined the Jesuits, and those who remained steadfast to their faith. These elected bishops of their own in the place of those who had signed the union: the first of these were consecrated by the patriarch of Jerusalem on his return from Moscow. The cruelty of some of the most intolerant of the Romish bishops at length roused the popular indignation, and provoked a severe remonstrance from the chancellor of Lithuania, one of the most eminent statesmen in Poland. He speaks with indignation of their abuse of authority, of their persecutions, scurrilous writing, and arrogant threats; and bids them beware lest the union, instead of an advantage, should prove their destruction. Such language from one who was himself a Romanist requires no comment. The obnoxious prelate was shortly afterwards murdered by a mob; but he is revered as a Polish saint by his admirers of the anti-papal party.

The troubles of the Greek Church in Poland introduce us to Cyril Lucar, afterwards patriarch of Constantinople, and one of the best and wisest men who have risen to that distinction. He was a native of Candia, educated in the famous schools of Padua. He afterwards spent some time in Germany and England, where his mind was tinctured with the principles of the Reformers, and on his return home, he avowed himself the adversary of the Church of Rome. He went still further, and expressed his admiration of the English and German Churches; and he even conceived the design of reforming the doctrine and ritual of the Greeks, and bringing them nearer to the simplicity and truth of the Gospel. He drew up a 'Confession of Faith,' which was published in Holland in 1629, nine years before his death, from which it is evident that he had embraced most of the doctrines of the reformed Churches. In a learned age, he was esteemed a man of letters. Besides a familiar acquaintance with Greek and Arabic, some of his correspondence, written in Latin, is remark-

able for its easy style: in one of his epistles, 'De Statu Græcarum Ecclesiarum,' he discusses the doctrines of the Greek Church. In a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, he deplores the ignorance of the ecclesiastics of his own communion, and the greater advantages of the Latin clergy in that respect. To this Cyril was intrusted a special mission to the Emperor Sigismund from the patriarch of Alexandria, in the hope that his ability and influence might in some measure counteract the mischievous activity of the Jesuits. He was present at Brest when the act of union was agreed upon; though the part he took in that assembly is doubtful. But he was raised soon after to the throne of Alexandria, and then to the patriarchate of Constantinople. His life was spent in the endeavour to purify the Eastern Church, and to counterwork the influence of the Jesuits. Their intrigues procured his banishment to Rhodes. The English ambassador interfered, by command of James I., and he was set at liberty, with a fine of sixty thousand dollars to the Porte. Soon afterwards the Propaganda offered a further sum of twenty thousand dollars as a bribe for his dismissal, and the Porte compounded the matter by permitting him to retain his office on the payment of one-half that sum. At length the Jesuits grasped their victim. By the help of perjured witnesses they established a charge of treason against him, and he died a martyr, being strangled, as was supposed, by order of the Porte, in the year 1638. He was succeeded by another Cyril, bishop of Berea, a man of malignant spirit, and the chief instrument of the Jesuits in the death of his predecessor. He declared himself in favour of the Latins, and would have accomplished a reconciliation between the Churches; but he, too, fell a victim to the suspicions and jealousy of the tyrants of the East: he died in the communion of the Church of Rome. To him Parthenius succeeded, a zealous opponent of the papal claims. And from this time the Roman pontiffs desisted from their ambitious projects upon the Greek Church. They wanted the opportunity to depose its patriarchs, or the influence to allure its subjects into their own communion.

The memory of Cyril Lucar will be held in everlasting honour. Without support, without encouragement, unassisted and alone, he attempted the reformation of a Church steeped in superstitions and bigoted in its attachment to them. Luther

had the support of sovereign princes, Knox's reformation was carried in triumph on the shoulders of the people. Our English reformers were, from the first, a numerous band, and countenanced each other. The virtuous patriarch had none of these encouragements. He must have felt that he ventured on a hopeless task, except, indeed, as the Great Disposer of events might please, contrary to all human probabilities, to crown it with success. For the time he failed, and the Jesuits exulted. After a lapse of two hundred years, may we at length venture to hope that the spirit of Cyril will revive in other patriarchs, and the Greek Church become, what she has never been since the days of early Christianity, a pure and scriptural communion? The reception of Cyril's 'Confession of Faith' would at once commend her to the entire confidence of Protestant Churches. It consists of eighteen articles, of which it is necessary to cite but one in order to prove our statement, for it embraces a proposition which excludes all material error while it involves all essential truth. "The authority of Holy Writ is far greater than that of the Church, for it is a different thing to be taught by the Holy Ghost from being taught by man. Man may, through ignorance, err and be deceived. But Holy Scripture neither deceiveth nor is subject to error, but is infallible. It is true and certain the Church militant may err, and choose falsehood instead of truth. And from this error and deceit the teaching and light of the most Holy Spirit alone, not of mortal men, frees us, although this may be done by the ministry of those who faithfully serve the Church." It is, perhaps, superfluous to add, that Cyril held but two sacraments, denied transubstantiation, rejected image-worship, and taught the doctrine of justification by faith only.

Little more remains to be told. For the last two centuries the history of the Greek Church scarcely offers one incident of importance. Its power has been sapped by the constant growth of the Russian territory on the one hand, by a grinding Turkish despotism on the other. In the middle of the nineteenth century the oriental Churches occupy the attention of the civilized world. A war rages between Russia and the two great Western powers of Europe, which had its origin in the feebleness and humiliation of the Greek Church and her sister communions. The Christians sought free access to the Holy Sepulchre, the Turks pillaged and oppressed them. Their cause was taken up

by France and then by Russia. The latter at last advanced a claim to the protectorate of all the Christians in the Turkish empire, and this being resisted, she in 1853 crossed the Danube, and threatened Constantinople. France and England have espoused the cause of Turkey, and are fighting her battles in the Crimea. But they have also secured the independence of the oriental Churches; and it is not without reason the hope is cherished that they will wake up at length from their long and death-like slumber. The sacred Scriptures are introduced and read, in spite of the prohibition which the Greek Church, in imitation of the Church of Rome, has for ages placed on their perusal; and Protestant missionaries now find their way with little difficulty amongst the ignorant masses both of the Greek and Turkish population.

We must notice, in conclusion, the sects and Churches which have sprung from the mother-church of Constantinople, as well as some of the peculiarities of her creed and practice.

The Russian Church is, of course, the greatest of the communions which trace their genealogy to the great eastern patriarch. The history of the Russian Church, however, we reserve for a separate article.

The Church of Georgia, once under the patriarch of Constantinople, has fallen into the hands of Russia. It was formerly a branch of the Armenian Church, from which it separated in the fifth century to join the orthodox Church of the East. Its religion still preserves proofs of its original purity. Its independent spirit has always shown itself in the aversion of the Georgians to foreign dominion. They chose rather to compound with the authorities of Constantinople by the payment of a heavy tribute, than to suffer their patriarch's interference with the order of their own spiritual affairs.

In 1801 the extension of the Russian empire included them within her dominions, after being governed for fifteen hundred years by a bishop of their own, under the formal superintendence of Constantinople. The Georgian worship is now regulated by the archbishop of Tiflis, with the sanction of the holy synod of St. Petersburgh. They delay the baptism of their children till their eighth year; but in most other respects adhere strictly to the oriental ritual.

The Montenegrine Church is another branch following the

main doctrines of the Greek ritual, though more cautious against the introduction of Romish errors. They differ from it in rejecting some of its outward observances. They show an equally implacable hatred to the idolatrous features of Romanism, and to the overtures of the pope. They forbid the worship of images, crucifixes, and pictures.

The Montenegrine Christians are governed by a bishop, consecrated at St. Petersburgh; but by custom he must always be chosen from the family of Petrovitch.

Of the numerous sects that have sprung from the Greek Church the Nestorians are the most ancient. The term Chaldæans, which was formerly applied to them, is now only used with reference to those who have embraced the Romish doctrines; these are chiefly to be found in the neighbourhood of the Tigris. Though they bear the name of Nestorius, they profess to derive their tenets from the apostle James. About the beginning of the fifth century the zeal of Nestorius led him to support the followers of Apollinaris, staunch opposers of the Arian heresy. In his eagerness to show that the Virgin ought not to be addressed as the mother of God, he carried the distinction so far as to imply two persons as well as two natures in our Lord; that is, a divine person taking up his abode in a human body, one in appearance but two in reality, united in one form, though this inference was denied by Nestorius. A general council was summoned at Ephesus in 431 to settle this controversy. It was presided over by Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, who, in his haste, condemned Nestorius before the arrival of the other bishops.

Before the year 498 the numerous followers of Nestorius established for themselves a separate patriarchate under the title of archbishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon: his residence was afterwards changed to Bagdad, and then to Mosul. In most respects their worship agrees with that of the ancient Greek Church, though in a more simple form. They reject the worship of saints and pictures. The Nestorians of Malabar, who style themselves the Christians of St. Thomas, rather than St. James, have three sacraments instead of seven. The patriarchs observe celibacy, and abstain entirely from meat. Those intended for the office are brought up from childhood without tasting animal food. The dignity is hereditary, and descends

from uncle to nephew, or, in default of a nephew, to the younger brothers.

The number of the Nestorians is estimated at about one hundred and forty thousand.

The most recent computations give the number of those Christians who are comprehended in the communion of the Greek Church as 50,000,000 in Russia; 12,000,000 in Turkey; Greece, including the Montenegrins, 800,000; the Austrian dominions, 2,800,000; the patriarchate of Alexandria, 5,000; Antioch, 150,000; and Jerusalem, 15,000: in all about 65,500,000.

In doctrine the Greek Church differs but little from the Church of Rome. It receives tradition as a joint rule of faith with Holy Scripture. But, while the pope may authorize new traditions, those of the Greeks are stationary; they include the writings of the Greek fathers to the time of John Damasciensis, early in the eighth century, and the decisions of the first seven general councils, recognising as such the two councils of Nice, three councils of Constantinople, and those of Ephesus and Chalcedon. The Greek Church admits the seven sacraments of Rome; but, with regard to baptism, it teaches that the chrism, or unction with oil, is necessary to complete the sacrament, and it makes use of the chrism likewise as an extreme unction when death approaches, and to anoint the sick that they may recover, and receive remission of sins. Baptism is performed by the immersion of the infant three times. The Lord's supper is administered to the laity in both kinds. The doctrine of transubstantiation, which may be traced in Chrysostom's treatise on the priesthood, became soon after an accredited dogma of the Eastern Church. The Greek Church rejects the doctrine of purgatory and that of works of supererogation; nor does it assign infallibility to its head, the patriarch, or address him as the vicar of Christ. It differs from the Church of Rome in rejecting image-worship, though paintings are allowed, and receive a superstitious homage; and, above all, in the absence of that intolerant and ambitious spirit which denounces all other Christian sects as heretics, and enforces submission to her authority by the sword. Besides the ancient creeds, the doctrines of the Greek Church are to be sought in her liturgies and confessions. Of the former there are four, [illegible] in various places, and substantially agreeing with each other. [illegible] has several confessions and many catechisms, particularly in

the Russian Church. A confession of faith was presented to Mahomet the Second, after the fall of Constantinople, which secured to the Greek Church some degree of toleration. The confession of Cyril Lucar followed in 1621. This was answered by the orthodox confession of 1643, which was approved by the four patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch, and still continues to be one of the standards of the Eastern Churches.

Picart's Religious Ceremonies; Father Simons's Travels to Mount Libanus; Ricaut's History of the Greek and Armenian Churches; Dr. King's Travels in the East; M. Aimon's authentic Memorials of the Greek Religion; Mouriavieff's History of the Church in Russia; Count Krazinski's Sketch of the Religious History of the Sclavonian Nations; Dean Waddington's Sketch of the Greek Church; Neal's History of the Holy Eastern Church; and *Bowen's Visit to Mount Athos,*— are among the chief authorities consulted in the foregoing article.

GNOSTICS (γιγνώσκω, to possess knowledge). Simon Magus is the generally reputed founder of the Gnostics; but, in truth, Gnosticism was nothing else than the philosophical system of the times, leavened with a slight infusion of Judaism, and a still slighter portion of Christianity. It arose, at least it exhibited itself, in its early days at Alexandria, from whence it spread through eastern Christendom. Alexandria was at that time the great seat of philôsophy. It contained a vast number of Jews; and, being the great emporium of trade, it was of course much frequented by the early Christians. Justin Martyr relates that Simon Magus was a native of Samaria; but Dr. Burton thinks it probable that he studied at Alexandria, and that he there learned the doctrine of the Gnostics. (Lectures on Ecclesiastical History). The name of Gnosticism was probably not yet given to any particular sect, but in the progress of opinions it always happens that the thing exists, and floats about vaguely and undefined, before it assumes a distinctive name. Amongst the intellectual idlers of a thriving city, the Platonic philosophy had superseded the coarse and vulgar forms of the

old Egyptian superstition. The Alexandrian Jews were infected with it; for their language was Greek, and many of them had an extensive acquaintance with heathen literature, and they were a rich and numerous class, exercising, no doubt, considerable influence upon public opinion. On the other hand, the Platonists studied the Jewish scriptures, and saw in them traces of pure and sublime theology. The Jews, who wished to remove the prejudices against their peculiar creed, endeavoured, in an evil hour, to show that it harmonized with many of the speculations of Plato. They even asserted that Plato had borrowed from the writings of Moses—a statement which was implicitly believed by many of the fathers, and which has been defended with immense erudition by divines of the seventeenth century. We refer the reader especially to Gale's "Court of the Gentiles." Thus a compromise was attempted between the creeds of Moses and of Plato. There was a third element of error in the Persian or Magian doctrines; for Alexandria, open to the teaching of Greece on one side, was equally exposed to the fantastic theories of Orientalism on the other. And thus from these three sources —the philosophy of Plato, the religion of Moses, and the Magian superstitions—a new system was created; this was Gnosticism. As Christianity spread, it applied itself to explain the mysteries of the Christian faith; but in its origin it was not a Christian sect; it did not arise within the Christian Church, but it very soon infected the pure stream of gospel truth, and for a long time, in many places, obscured its real character.

If Eusebius may be credited, Simon Magus visited Rome immediately after he had been rebuked by Saint Peter in Samaria (Acts xiii. 10), and there spread his pestilent errors. Justin Martyr, who was himself a Samaritan, of the same country with the impostor, places his visit in the reign of Claudius, and speaks at some length of his successes there. He says too that his doctrine had spread over the whole of Samaria, where he was looked upon as a god; he adds, that he was received at Rome with divine honours, and had a statue erected to him with the inscription in Latin, *Simoni deo sancto*. Justin's accuracy has been questioned, and with apparent plausibility, as he could not read Latin; but the same inscription is quoted by Latin fathers, namely, by Tertullian and Augustine. It is also noticed by the Greek writers, Irenæus, Theodoret, and Cyril of Jerusalem.

(Burton's Bampton Lectures.) Upon the whole, there is little doubt that Simon Magus was the great teacher of Gnosticism, and that he visited Rome, where his success was great.

Gnosticism spread rapidly. It may have stood in the same relation to primitive Christianity which the imposture of Mahomet afterwards assumed. It accepted a few of its most obvious truths, and so doing undermined all the rest. It was unquestionably the most formidable opponent with which the early Church had to contend; it was the cause, too, of much of the odium under which it laboured. The Gnostics practised magic, which they learned from the East. The origin of evil, and the creation of material things, were amongst their most fertile topics of discussion. They held that matter was independent of the Deity, and, like him, existed from eternity. This they learned from Plato. They taught that it derived its present forms, not from the will of the supreme Deity, but from the creative power of some inferior intelligence, whom they called *Demiurgus*, to whom the world in its present state, and its inhabitants, owe their existence. In this we may trace the Magian notion of genii, or good and evil spirits, counterworking the projects of the supreme God.

A great degree of obscurity must always rest upon the subject of the real opinions of the Gnostics. In the first place our acquaintance, such as it may be, with the subject, is derived from their opponents, the fathers of the Church, who probably took but little pains to distinguish between their real tenets and those popularly ascribed to them. Again, having no acknowledged leader or standard of truth, new speculations were constantly making their appearance, each fresh extravagance generating another, until Gnosticism was merely a vague term, such as infidel or sceptic in our own times, for any form of heterodoxy or unbelief. Dr. Burton, the late Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford, appears to have investigated the subject with great impartiality as well as extensive learning, and he sums up the dogmas of Gnosticism, properly so termed, to this effect:—That matter was independent of the Deity, and coeternal with him, was a fundamental tenet of Platonism, nor did the Alexandrian Jews find any repugnance to extract this from the writings of Moses. That several orders of spiritual beings were interposed between God and the human race, was maintained both by

Platonists and Jews; the dæmons of the one being identified with the angels of the other. The Jews had also admitted many innovations in their belief concerning angels since their residence at Babylon, mingling oriental fable with the statements of their own scriptures, as we may perceive in the books of the Apocrypha. The oriental notion was, that several successive emanations of spiritual beings had proceeded from God; and the theory of emanations became the favourite tenet of the Gnostics, and their grand invention for accounting for the origin of evil. We may recognise in this scheme the doctrine of two principles, which was held so generally in Persia, and was afterwards more widely diffused in the West by Manes or Manichæus. Some of the Gnostics believed the world to have been created by an evil principle: but the Creator was supposed by all of them to have more or less connexion with evil; and the boast of Gnosticism was to free mankind from the tyranny of this being, and to restore the *knowledge* of the true God.

The pre-existence of the soul, its depravity and degradation to reside in the material body by way of punishment, had been the doctrine of the East from time immemorial. Not conceiving how evil could arise from the abuse of free will in moral agents, they attributed good and evil, their conflicts and vicissitudes, to two eternal principles: good they properly attributed to the Supreme Intelligence, the fountain of all good; but to him they dared not attribute evil. Observing in themselves, and in the world around them, the conflict between matter and mind, and the tendency of the former to depress, oppose, and corrupt the latter, and justly conceiving, also, matter to be foreign to the Divine nature, they concluded this to be the centre and source of all evil.

Christianity no sooner appeared than the Gnostics incorporated it into their system, but so as not merely to corrupt, but to subvert it. Gnosticism taught that Christ was a being who proceeded from God, and who came to reveal the true God to man. They admitted that he and his followers wrought miracles of the most astonishing kind, and that he came to deliver men from the power of the malignant genii, or Aëons, to whom the world was subjected; but they taught also that the body of Jesus was a phantom, and that Christ was neither born, nor suffered upon the cross. Whatever was corporeal, was, in the Gnostic creed, in itself essentially evil: it was therefore impossible that the Son of the

supreme God, sent, as they admitted, from the pleroma, or habitation of the Father, should be really man. Thus the doctrine of the atonement and of faith in the death of Christ found no place whatever in their system; they maintain that He came to mortals with no other view than to deprive the Aëons, or spiritual tyrants of this world, of their influence upon virtuous and heaven-born souls; and, destroying the empire of these wicked spirits, to teach mankind how they could separate the divine mind from the impure body, and render the former worthy of being united to the Father of spirits.

Another characteristic of the Gnostics was their addiction to magic. Many proofs might be brought that Gnosticism prevailed in Asia Minor, and particularly in Ephesus. The epistles of St. Paul, written to, or dated from, that city, contain many allusions to it, and the fact of his long residence in Ephesus may perhaps be explained by this circumstance; knowing that the name of Christ, at least, was reverenced by the Gnostics, he was the more anxious to guard his disciples, by a perfect knowledge of the truth, against this counterfeit. The Ephesians were greatly addicted to magic, and this would give the Gnostics a great advantage in pushing their triumphs amongst a superstitious people. The Ephesian letters, or characters, had been popular as charms long before the time of which we are speaking; and the number of persons who were persuaded by St. Paul to abandon these superstitions, is a proof of the extent to which this wickedness was carried. The teachers of Gnosticism appear at this time to have been principally Jews; and such persons were likely to be attracted by St. Paul. It is not improbable that the exorcists, who are mentioned by St. Luke, were persons of this kind; they saw the success of the apostle in curing the dæmoniacs, and their system allowed them to make use of the name of Jesus for a similar purpose. We know, however, that the experiment failed; but such cases were well suited to illustrate the difference between true and false Christianity.

There is no doubt that the Gnostics held and practised doctrines, which, if not impure, were, at least, disreputable and suspicious. Their contempt for whatever was corporeal, as being of necessity impure, led them to a denial of the resurrection, a contempt of marriage, a severe system of mortification in some, and in others, unrestrained licentiousness. From St. Paul's first

epistle to the Corinthians, it is evident that Gnosticism had already shown itself in Greece. He repeatedly uses the term knowledge, γνῶσις, in a peculiar sense, as arrogated by a certain party, *e. g.*, 1 Cor. viii. 1, "We know that we all have knowledge: knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth;" and the errors he combats, are precisely those which Gnosticism would have introduced: probably the discussions respecting marriage were introduced by them, and those, too, with regard to the resurrection. The Gnostics denied that there was, in any sense, a resurrection of the body; they held that the soul of man, if purified by knowledge, when separated from the body, fled up at once to the pleroma, and there dwelt for ever in the presence of God. Whatever the Christians said of a resurrection, they interpreted figuratively; according to them, the Gnostic rose from death to life when he was initiated in their mysteries and made perfect in their knowledge. The scruple about eating things offered to idols (1 Cor. viii. 10, &c.), was probably occasioned by the Gnostics, who, when persecution was raging a few years afterwards, certainly joined in heathen sacrifices.

We have intimations of the presence of the Gnostic heresy in most of the apostolic writings. Hymenæus and Alexander, who were delivered by St. Paul to Satan, had probably embraced these errors at Ephesus; and if their punishment consisted, as is generally supposed, in the infliction of some bodily suffering, how powerfully would this appeal to the understanding of a people addicted to magical arts and incantations! Here were the Ephesian charms silenced and degraded at the mere word of an apostle of Christ! The allusion, Rom. xvi. 17, 18, "They that are such serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly; and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple," is by no means inapplicable to the Gnostics, who defended immoral practices, and used their pretended miracles for gain; and if Simon Magus had visited Rome before this time, the passage in which St. Paul rejoices "that Christ was even preached of strife and contention," may probably refer to him. There must have been many persons in Rome who had heard of Christ through this vain philosophy. The principal Churches in Phrygia were those of Laodicea, Colosse, and Hierapolis; all appear to have been affected by it, as we may gather from St. Paul's letters. It is scarcely possible that any of the Churches of Asia



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seems more than probable that the Gnostic doctrine spread lly towards the close of the first century. Cerinthus became time its leader; he resided for some time at Ephesus, where charged with having taught the greatest laxitude of morals. Nicolaitans, Rev. ii. 6, were another branch of this wide ;y; it seems they did not scruple "to eat things offered to ." In times of persecution the Christians were required, as st, to join in the public sacrifices, and their refusal was shed with death; but the Gnostics taught them to equivo- and this Nicolas, whoever he might be, had, no doubt, ucted them that, in such cases, compliance was not a sin. convenient doctrine seduced not a few Christians from their ; but many still stood firm; and St. John has recorded the e of Antipas, who, with several others, received the crown of yrdom at Pergamos.

ıe Ebionites were another branch of the Gnostics. It is ıtful whether their name was derived from that of their sup-d leader, or from a Hebrew word descriptive of their condition, ion" meaning poor. Simon Magus was probably the first of Gnostics who engrafted the name of Christ into their system: ınd his followers maintained that the body of Jesus was a ıtom, and were thence called "Docetæ," from δοκεῖν, to seem. earlier form of Gnosticism was succeeded by another, that of Ebionites, who taught that Jesus had a real body, inasmuch .e was born of human parents, and that Christ, who was emanation from God, was united to him at his baptism. nthus also adhered to this latter opinion. The theory of nation, we may here remark, was the favourite doctrine of Gnostics, and their grand hypothesis for explaining the origin rıl. They supposed the Deity, by acting upon his own mind, ave created the first pair of Aëons, who by successive emana-

tions gave birth to others, who gradually deteriorated, and had less and less resemblance to the Great First Cause. These Aëons, passing the pleroma, and coming in contact with matter, created the world, the Supreme Cause himself being in no way accessary to its existence, nor even conscious at the time of what was taking place. The evil which appeared in the world was inherent in matter itself; and the Deity was employed in endeavouring to remove it. For this purpose, Christ, a later emanation from the Deity, was sent into the world. Thus, in a certain sense, they allowed him to be the Son of God, but "the preaching of the cross was foolishness unto them." They utterly denied the doctrine of his atonement. In fact, when a Christian adopted the Gnostic views, he ceased to be a Christian, for he renounced his faith in a redeemer, and his hope of a resurrection.

In the first century the Church of Christ, with one voice, agreed in this view of the Gnostic system: namely, that Gnostics were not Christians. Thus Hegisippus, who wrote in the second century, states that till the time of Trajan, "the Church continued a virgin;" that is, as he himself explains it, "was not corrupted by vain doctrines." Eusebius, the ecclesiastical historian, to whom we are indebted for the preservation of the passage, confirms it, with this remark: "If there were any before that time who endeavoured to corrupt the wholesome rule of the evangelical preaching, they lurked in darkness and obscurity." The Gnostic errors were not considered to belong to any portion of the great Christian family.

In the second century, Basilides of Alexandria was so much reverenced as a Gnostic teacher, that his disciples are sometimes described as a new sect under the name of Basilideans. Irenæus gives some account of his doctrines, which are curious as showing what Gnosticsm was in its last stage or full development. He taught that the Supreme Being created seven Aëons of a perfect nature. Two of these, δύναμις and σόφια, Power and Wisdom, produced, or emanated, angels, who formed a region, or secondary pleroma for themselves. These again brought forth others of a still inferior nature, to the number of three hundred and sixty-five, under their chief, Abraxas. This Abraxas seems to have been the prince of the magicians, and from him the magical word "Abracadabra," said to have wrought such wonders, by the pro-

Minor should have escaped a contagion which so deeply infected Ephesus, the metropolis. St. Peter, Jude, and James, distinctly recognize it, and, without a doubt, it was one of those "many antichrists" which St. John warned his readers "had already come," 1 Epistle, ii. 18. The caution, chapter iv. verse 3, "Every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God;" that "spirit of antichrist" which "even now is already in the world," seems to be exclusively aimed against the Gnostics.

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mankind at large; and instead of dreaming reveries, debasing to their victims, but of little influence on the world, he produced, and from the same materials, a system which for ages filled the world with awe, and held dominion over millions of the human race, and which still grasps, though with a palsied hand, the spiritual sway of nations renowned for wealth, valour, and refinement.

Writings of the Apostolic Fathers, by Archbishop Wake. Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History. Dr. Burton's Lectures on Ecclesiastical History. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History. Vol. I. Sale's Koran. Lardner's History of Ancient Heresies.

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